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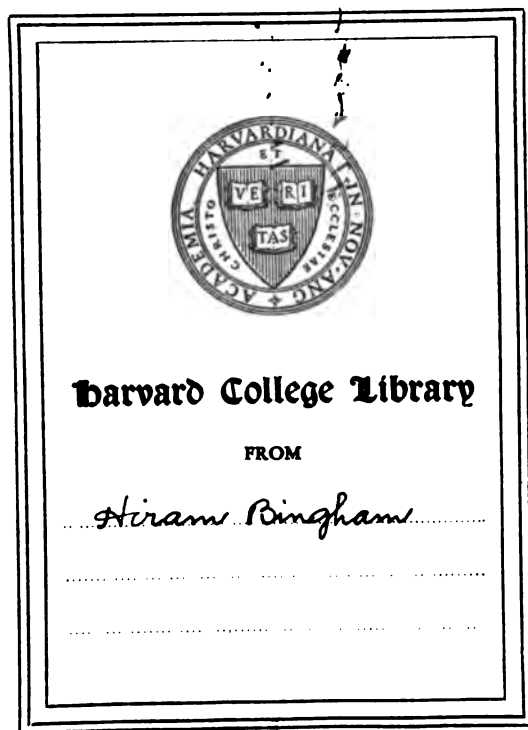
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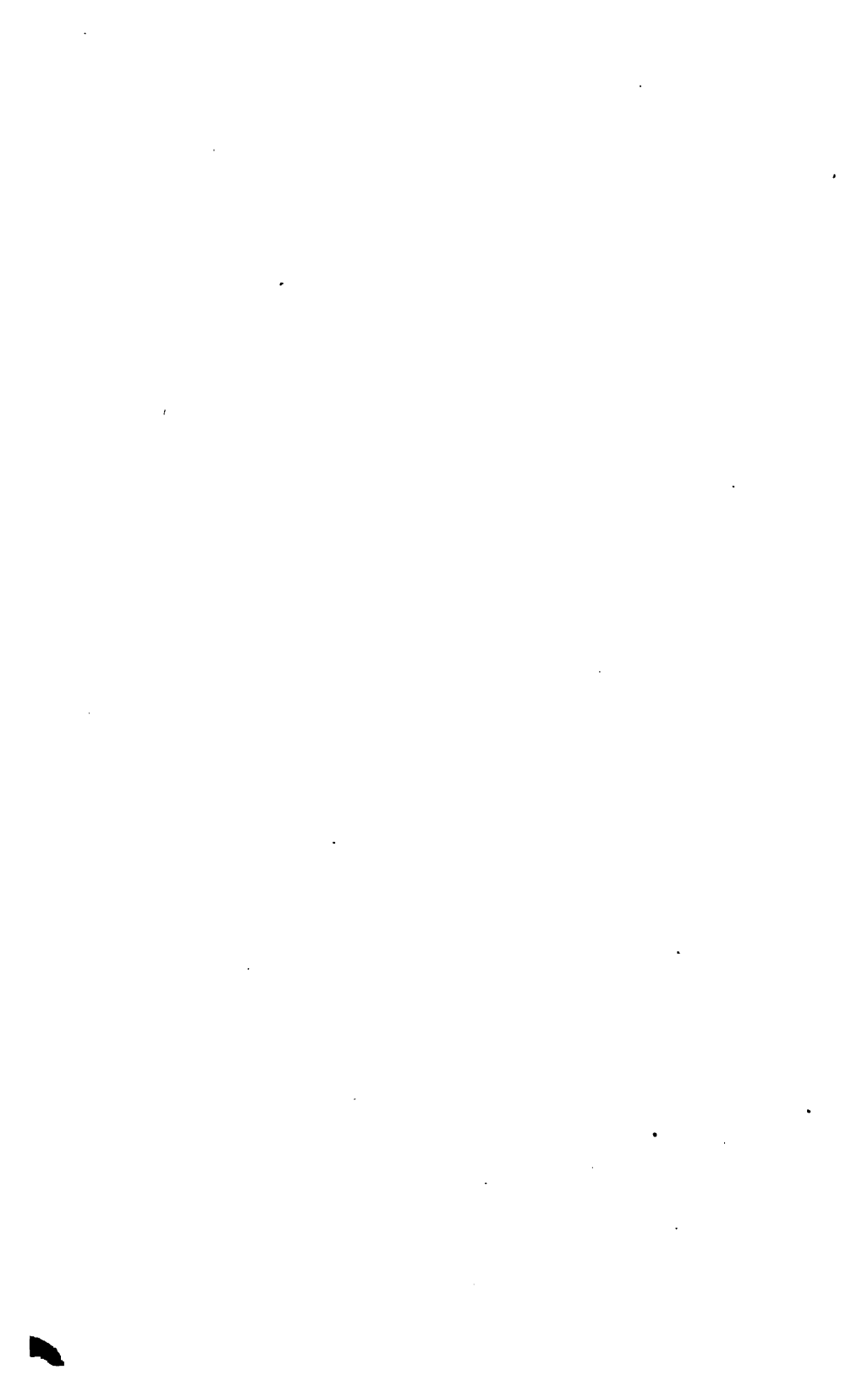
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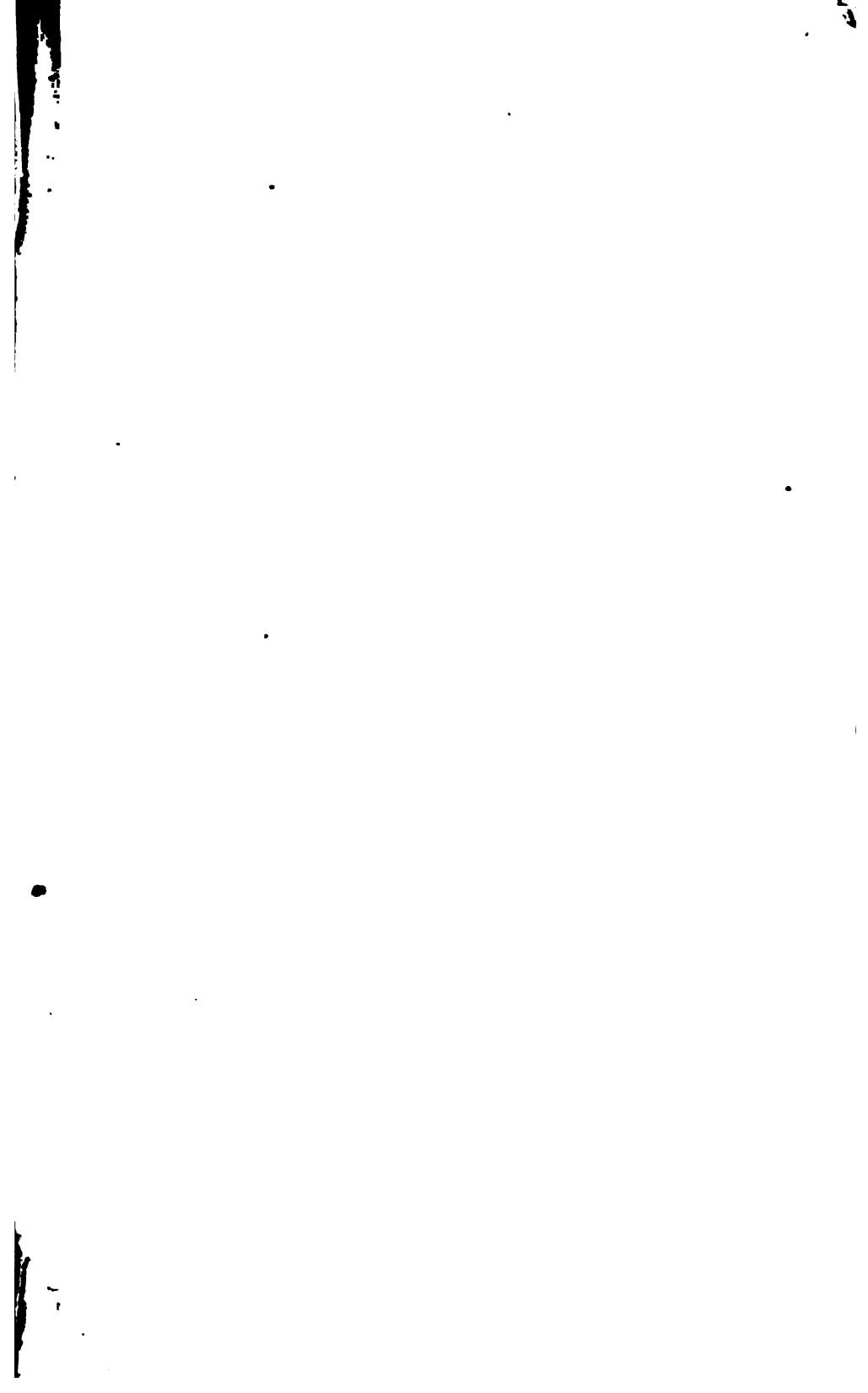
INCIDENTS OF THE PARAGUAYAN WAR,

AND

SOUTH AMERICAN RECOLLECTIONS,

FROM 1861 TO 1868.







Yours faithfully  
Thos J Hutchinson

# THE PARANÁ;

WITH

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## SOUTH AMERICAN RECOLLECTIONS,

FROM 1861 TO 1868.

BY

THOMAS J. HUTCHINSON, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.L., F.E.S., F.A.S.L.,

H.B.M. CONSUL FOR ROSARIO;

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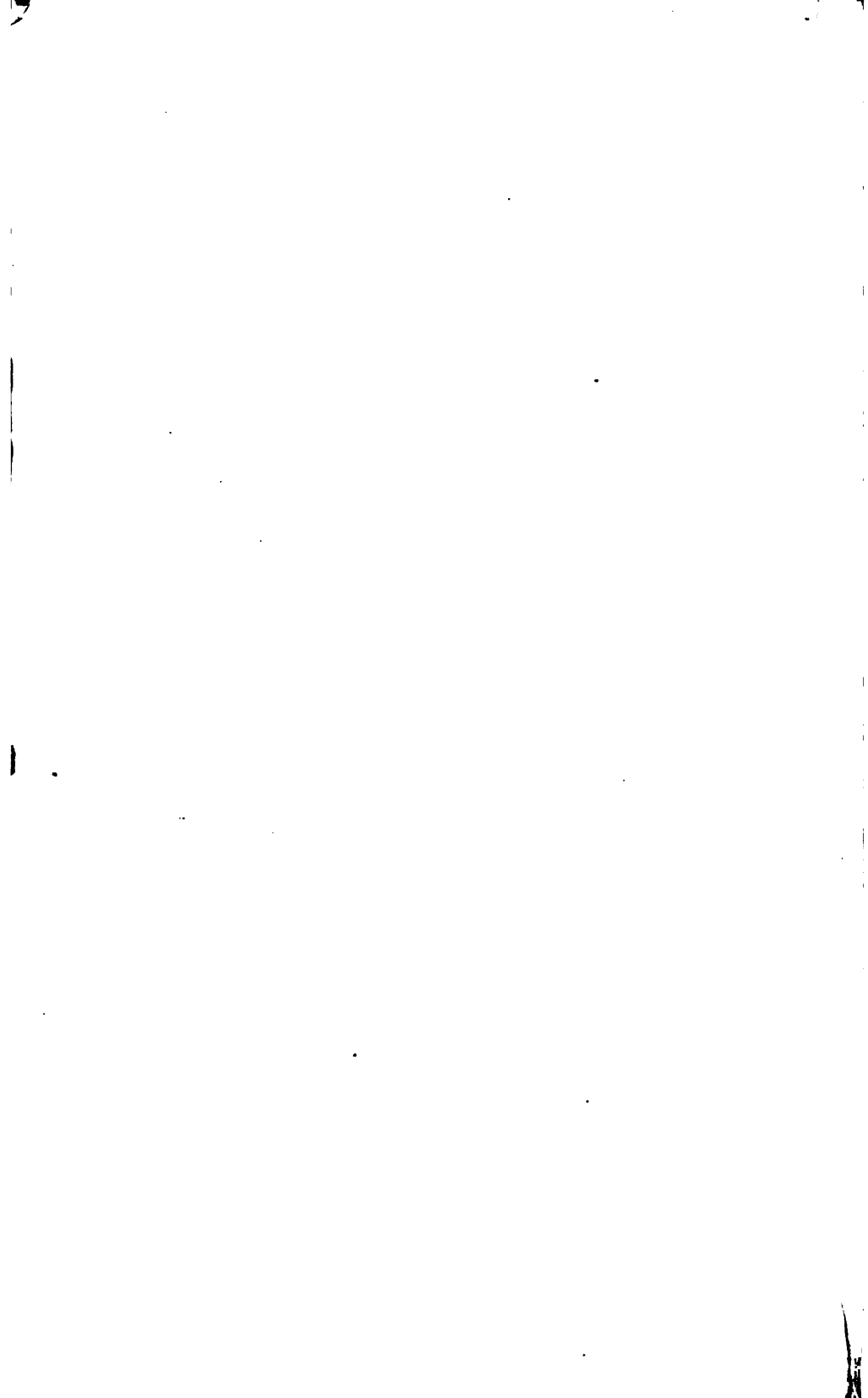
TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD STANLEY, M.P., D.C.L.,  
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

*This Work is Dedicated,*  
AS AN HUMBLE TRIBUTE TO HIS LORDSHIP'S ENCOURAGEMENT  
OF GEOGRAPHICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL PROGRESS,

BY HIS OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.



## PREFACE.

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JUST as I had finished this work, and was meditating on the few words I have to say here, a friend of mine expressed his belief, that the time had neither arrived, nor had the man appeared, to write such a book as ought to be written about these countries.

“Moreover,” he added, “Sir Woodbine Parish’s volume is a misnomer,—‘Buenos Ayres *from* the Conquest,’ when there has been no Conquest, for the Indians are still as bad as ever; and the ‘establishment of political independence,’ even in our days, partakes somewhat of the mythical.

I leave those of my readers, who have lived for any time in the River Plate territories, to judge of the difficulty I should have had in contradicting my friend.

Our age being one, in which emigration has become an European institution, the countries that are most favourable for the Hegira seem to me pre-eminently deserving of public attention. The Argentine and Uruguayan Republics, from their geographical position, mildness of climate, purity of virgin soil, and

navigable rivers, are coming to be much inquired about now-a-days; and I hope some useful information in reference to these districts may be obtained from the jottings and observations comprised herewith. The only immigrants needed out here are men of capital, and labourers,—hands that are expert with the shovel, the hoe, and the plough most of all. The chief things that lie in the way of the English immigrant, are:—

FIRST,—The fact of Spanish being the language of the country.

SECOND,—Of the Governments not being founded on stable bases.

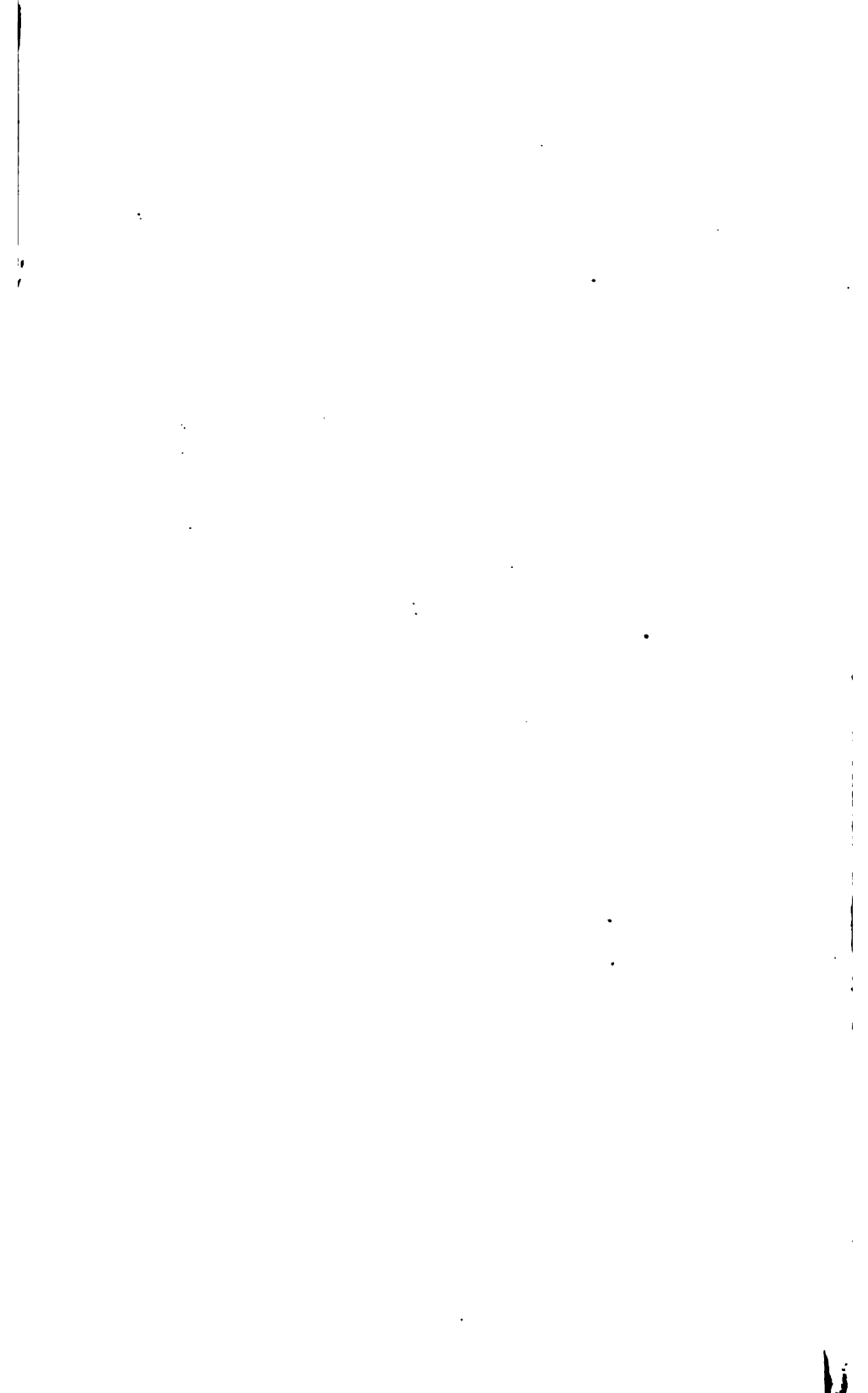
THIRD,—Of the want of protection from any of these Governments, and the consequent necessity of the immigrants taking care they shall not need it.

These are stubborn facts, because unfortunately true; but unless in time of civil (?) war, men with stout hearts and strong hands, keeping themselves clear of the political squabbles of the peoples, can get on in the River Plate territories to a position of independence as well as in any new state of the world. Every day's experience shows us this. For a convincing proof whereof, I can point to the fact, that nine-tenths of the material progress and industrial development of these fine territories are entirely owing

to the introduction of foreign capital, energy, industry, and intelligence,—an amalgam of items, in which I regret to say, the native element is sadly deficient.

I have written nothing about the Paraguayan war, but what I know to be the truth. That some of its contingencies have been a swindle on humanity and common sense I am firmly convinced; and I protest against being set down as a partizan of either side for this conviction, or for gathering, as I have done here, from the muddle of three years' official correspondence, as well as from my own personal observation, what I am certain are established facts, and which I hope will interest the general public.

21A, HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON,  
*September, 1868.*



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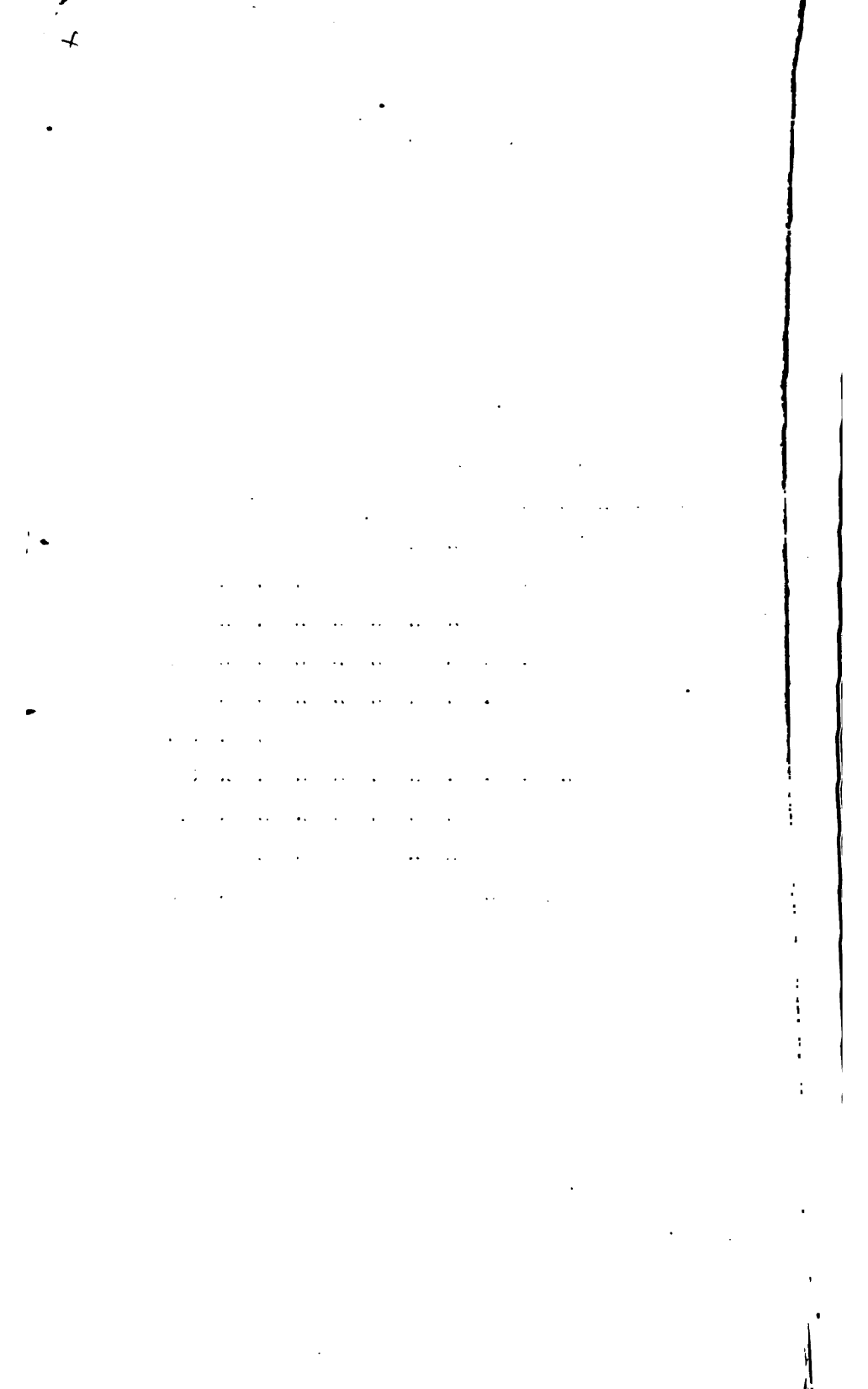
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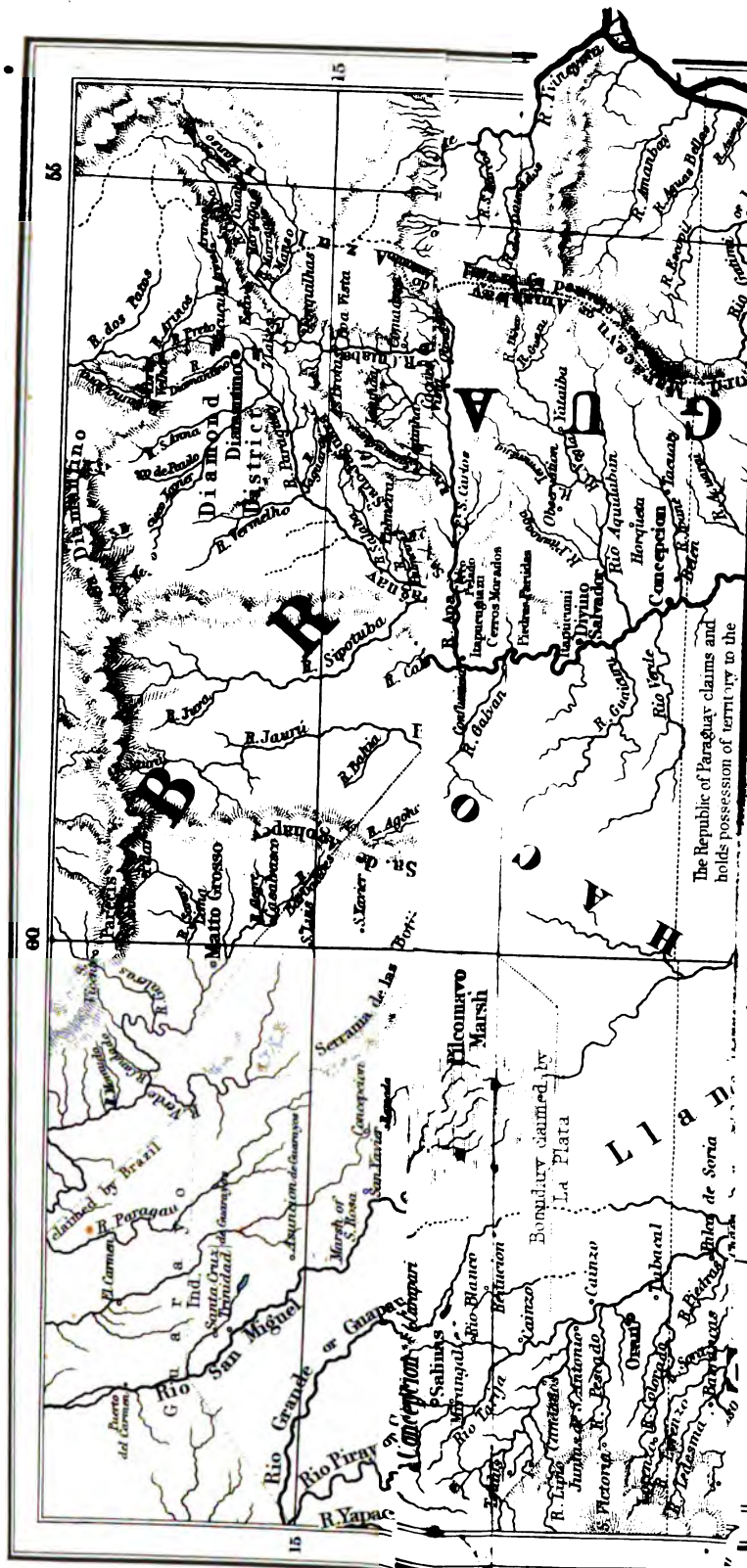
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# THE PARANÁ.

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## CHAPTER I.

The Rio de la Plata — Its Indian Name — First Reception of the Spaniards — Cannibalism in South America — Sebastian Gabot's Expedition in 1526 — Foundation of the Fortress of the Holy Ghost — Fight with the Agaces — Friendly Relations with the Guaranis — Romantic Tragedy at the Fort of the Holy Ghost — Don Pedro de Mendoza's Arrival in 1534 — Foundation of Buenos Ayres — Battle with the Querandies — Indian Weapons of War — Abandonment of the Colony — Refoundation by Don Juan de Garay in 1580 — Story of Cristoval Altimaron — Foundation of the City of Santa Fé by Don Juan de Garay — His Death by Murder near the Fort of the Holy Ghost — Change of Site of Santa Fé City in 1651.

THE Rio de la Plata, River of Silver, or, as it is not unfrequently rendered into English, River Plate, does not derive its title, (although Monsieur Charles Beck Bernard\* says so,) from the sailors who were with its first discoverer, Don Juan Diaz de Solis, having dubbed it thus, because they saw a quantity of mica-crystals floating on its waters. This name was conferred by Sebastian Gabot,—"the good olde and famuse man,"—after he had exchanged, with the Guarani Indians near Paraguay, what the historian styles "some worthless drugs" for many valuable silver ornaments which they were wearing.

\* Vide 'La République Argentine,' par Charles Beck Bernard, p. 7. Lausanne, 1865.

But either of the foregoing titles has in it too much of a Brummagem tinkle for me. I prefer the grand old name of "Paraná," "resembling the sea," which was the appellative given to the river by one of the many tribes of Indians, with whom in these days its shores abounded.

The first reception of the Spaniards out here was a cruel one. We learn from Dean Funes,\* that the Charruas Indians appeared in large numbers on the northern coast, when the squadron of Solis was coming up, and offered, with their hands, various presents of game and country produce, to induce the strangers on shore. For a time Solis was distrustful, but as they left these gifts of friendship on the beach, and retired out of sight, the navigator, very probably not wishing to continue his apparent want of confidence, proceeded to land with some of his people, and all unarmed. A party of the Indians who had concealed themselves in a small grove on the bank of a rivulet, between Maldonado and Monte Video, fell upon, killed, and ate them, in sight of the fleet that contained their companions. This, however, can scarcely be considered evidence of the existence of cannibalism, as an institution, amongst the Charruas. But, that anthropophagy prevailed during these same times in other parts of South America is recorded in the travels through Peru of Pedro Cieza de Leon;† although the stories

\* 'Ensayo de la Historia Civil del Paraguay, Buenos Ayres y Tucuman,' por el Doctor D. Gregorio Funes, Dean de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Córdoba, tom iii., Buenos Ayres, 1816.

† The travels of Pedro Cieza de Leon, A.D. 1532-1550, contained in the first part of his Chronicle of Peru, translated and edited with notes and introduction by Clements R. Markham (printed for the Halkluyt Society).

told by him are what the 'Athenæum'\* critic justly says "a man must have a strong stomach to receive."

In about ten years afterwards (for Solis discovered the embouchure of this river in 1515, and gave to it his own name) a voyage was made out from Spain by Sebastian Gabot, or Cabot, who arrived here in 1526. Gabot was a native of Bristol, although born of Venetian parents. His expedition consisted of three small vessels, equipped by the Spanish Government, and a caravel fitted out on private account. It was originally intended to open a trade with the Spice Islands of the Pacific, through the Straits of Magellan, (at the time recently discovered); but the loss of one of his ships, together with mutiny and disaffection in the others, decided him, after putting a few of his mutineers on shore in some part of Brazil, to steer for the river of Solis. As soon as he had anchored, he sent a Captain Juan Alvarez Ramon up the Uruguay in a brigantine. After a short period, Ramon and the greater part of his crew were killed by the Yaroo and Charruas Indians. In the meantime Gabot ascended the Paraná; and having reached the Carcaraña river mouth (which is about fifteen leagues above Rosario), he caused to be built here the Fortin del Santo Espiritu—"the fortress of the Holy Ghost." When this was completed, he had a ship constructed in the port. Then, making treaties of friendship with

This may not be an inappropriate place for mentioning that the South American cannibals (according to the historians Diaz de Guzman and Barco Centenura) ate human flesh on the like principle that it is done by many African tribes, namely, from the belief that eating the flesh of their enemies made them more valiant, if not invincible.

\* Vide 'Athenæum,' No. 1974, Aug. 26, 1865, pages 274, 275.

the Caracares, and Timbuës Indians, he ascended to the confluence of the Paraguay and Paraná streams, proceeding up the latter to its falls. On his return to the junction, he went up the Paraguay as far as the mouth of the Vermejo, where he was attacked by the Payaguas, or Agaces Indians, with whom he had a hard fight. But brave and warlike as they were, the Spaniards beat them back; and it may be inferred that this victory, like many succeeding ones, was in no small degree attributable to the "moral force" influence of the invaders' fire-arms. His success encouraged him to pass the boundary of the Guaraní tribe, up beyond where Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, now stands. Although the Guaranis, like many others met previously and hereafter, were almost naked, their bodies were adorned with feathers of the most brilliant colours; and they, as well as the Agaces, wore massive silver ornaments. The appearance of this precious metal seemed to realize the dreams of the Spanish Hidalgos, in reference to the country, and hence the name of "Rio de la Plata."

The fort of the Holy Ghost, which Gabot had caused to be erected at the mouth of the river Carcaraña, was for many years unmolested by the neighbouring tribe of the Timbuës. They were a quiet, inoffensive people; and their friendship was cultivated by an excellent governor, Don Nuno de Lara, whom Gabot left in command on his return to Spain in 1532. A short time after the departure of Gabot a fearful tragedy was enacted at the fort, of which here follow the chief details.

Amongst the Spanish ladies at Santo Espiritu was

a very beautiful woman, named Lucia Miranda, wife of Sebastian Hurtado, and whose attractions inflamed the passions of Mangora, principal cacique of the Timbuës. He called his brother Siripo into council, with the view of devising some means to get possession of her, and a plan was arranged. This was to be carried out on a certain day, that one of the Spanish captains, named Garcia, and the lady's husband, Hurtado, were to go from the fort, with fifty soldiers, to hunt game, and search for provisions in the woods. Mangora collected 4000 men, and had them hid in a grove hard by. He then, with thirty of his followers, proceeded to the fortress, offering to Governor Lara a quantity of provisions, and professing the warmest friendship. The Spaniard, not suspecting anything of the treachery that was brewing, and his garrison being hard pushed for food, received his visitors with open arms. The day was spent in festivity—drinking toasts to the god of Friendship, and all “went merry as a marriage bell.” But when the Spaniards had fallen asleep, and no doubt neglected a night-watch, Mangora, who had been on the alert, opened the doors of the fort, and, by preconcerted signals, soon had his horde of barbarians inside. A tremendous slaughter commenced, in which a hand-to-hand fight between Lara and Mangora ended by the death of both. The only survivors of the Spaniards were a few women and children. Amongst the former was Lucia. These were taken captives before Siripo, the brother and successor of Mangora, a man of equally base passions. He at once made proposals to Lucia, with the conditions of granting her life and liberty; but they were of such a

nature as to oblige her to reject them with scorn, and prefer death before dishonour. On the succeeding day her husband heard of the sad affair, whilst he was away hunting in the woods, and, being fired with indignation, rushed into the presence of Siripo, upbraiding the savage with treachery, whilst demanding the release of his wife. He was, however, without much formality, at once made prisoner, and immediately condemned to death. Although Lucia could maintain her fortitude where others were doomed to die, and even under personal insult to herself, she now renounced her heroic tone, and fell on her knees before Siripo, praying for her husband's life. The tyrant granted a revocation of the sentence, on conditions, that Hurtado would give her (Lucia) to him (Siripo)—that Hurtado would choose another wife amongst the young ladies of the Timbuës—and that this last-named selection would be realized without the necessity of any conjugal ceremony. Despite of feeling confident that her dear husband would scout such terms, with the disgust they were sure to present to any manly mind, she availed herself of Siripo's suggestion, that she would have an interview with Hurtado, and propose to him the terms of their salvation. Yet as they were mutually sympathizing with tearful love in each other's arms, they were ruthlessly separated by order of the barbarian, and on the instant condemned to death with the most horrible cruelty. She was slowly burned by a fire, made out of dried branches; and he, pinioned to a tree right in front of her, was executed by repeated discharges of arrows.

The jingling of La Plata currency on the Spanish



counter—spurious coin though it was, (belonging to a nation of shopkeepers, I may be allowed this figure of speech)—soon again stirred up the national chivalry to the “ vaulting ambition ” of grasping the supposed mineral wealth of this country. In 1534 a wealthy Spanish cavalier, named Don Pedro de Mendoza, got the royal approbation from Charles V. to embark for these shores, with a hundred horses, and an equal number of mares, eight priests to civilize the Indians, and whatever other appliances he might deem necessary to found a colony on the southern shore of this river. The territory of said colony was to comprise an extent of 200 leagues towards the Straits of Magellan. Of the immunities and privileges granted to those adventurers it is not my place to write here—having only to consider their relations with the Indians,—nor of the shares in such matters, which were to be given to the 2500 Spaniards, and 150 Germans who formed the comitatus. A storm drove them into Rio Janeiro, and, with exception of the few that remained in Brazil, they landed on the southern shore of the Paraná, near its mouth, in the following year. Soon after they constructed a collection of ranchos, to which was given the name and title of “ Santissima Trinidad,” and it adjoined the port that was called “ Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres.” \* This was quite convenient to the site of the present capital of the Argentine Republic. The

\* In his translation of my work, ‘ Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings,’ Senor Don Luis V. Varela corrects a reputed error of mine by a note to the effect that General Don Juan de Garay, in 1580, was the first founder of the city of Buenos Ayres, *as well as originator of its name,*

position was at the time contiguous to the chief town of the Querandi Indians, a pastoral, nomadic, brave, and warlike people, who held sway down to Bahía Blanca, and across the Cordilleras to Chili. For a time these Indians lived on very friendly relations with the Spaniards; but some misunderstanding having arisen, they stopped the supplies of provisions, and retired into the country, to a distance of about four leagues from the new city. The Adelantado, Mendoza, sent a message of peace and amity, requesting them to renew their first acquaintanceship, or at least to re-establish the principles of amicable relationship on which it had been carried out. The bearers of this message, however, thinking it more dignified to command than to supplicate, conveyed the Adelantado's request as an imperious order. The Querandies, not accustomed to this style of language, and deeming it no doubt as rather insolent when coming from invaders of their soil, not only ill-treated the messengers, but followed up by attacking the city. In the attempt, they were soon repelled by the fire-arms of the Spaniards. Very soon after, they murdered ten Spanish soldiers, who had been sent on a foraging expedition into the camp. From thenceforward it was a continual warfare. On one of these occasions Don Diego de Mendoza, the Spanish

and that the *ranchería* (number of ranchos), constructed by Mendoza in 1535 was burned and destroyed by the *Guarani* Indians. Allowing Mr. Varela to be exact with reference to placing of the foundation stone, Dean Funes (vol. i., cap. iii., p. 29) says that Mendoza gave the title to the place. Although it is the fashion to cry down Dean Funes, I believe him to be a better authority on this point than Mr. Varela. Moreover, the latter gentleman commits a grave error in attributing to the *Guaranies* what all history tells us was done by the Querandies.

Admiral, and brother to the Adelantado, went in pursuit of the Querandies, with three hundred infantry and twelve horsemen. The Indians gave him fight with nearly three thousand strong. The weapons of war used by the latter were arrows, and stones thrown from slings. With the last-mentioned an aim was made so dexterously, and the stone flung with so much force, that its most general result was the fracture of a man's skull, or his breast-bone. By one of these Don Diego was hurled from his horse to the ground, and then killed. This fight must have taken place somewhere near the now flourishing Villa de Lujan, in the province of Buenos Ayres, as the command on the Admiral's death fell to a Senor Don Diego Lujan, who, although soon sharing his predecessor's fate, had his name given to the villa before mentioned, to the Arroyo on whose bank he was slaughtered, and to the Partido in which both are situated.

So successful were the Querandies in this battle, and so much misery ensued from it to the Spaniards, that the Adelantado entertained serious thoughts of returning to Spain. The Indians, now bent on vengeance, collected an army,—some say of 23,000 men,—and advanced to besiege the town. The houses being at that time constructed of straw roofs, the principal damage done by the invading barbarians proceeded from arrows fired in, and having affixed to their points some combustible material, thus causing extensive conflagration. Some of the Indians, in their hardihood, climbed over the walls; but these were at once shot down or cut in pieces. The Spanish gunnery did such excellent service, as eventually put the Querandies

to flight. Very soon after this siege the invaders abandoned the settlement,—Don Pedro Mendoza proceeding up the river, whither he had despatched Don Juan de Ayolas to erect forts and found cities, as well as search for gold and silver. Mendoza returned to Spain in 1557, and died broken-hearted on his voyage.

In the year after the hard fight of 1535, just recorded, and which led to the abandonment of the original Buenos Ayres, we find Don Juan de Ayolas, at this time Governor of Corpus Christi,\* following the example of Gabot—fighting with the Agaces and Guarani tribes near the river Paraguay. Everywhere the Indians opposed the invaders,—everywhere they had no weapons of warfare but slings and arrows,—and everywhere, when it came to a regular battle, the Spanish powder and ball triumphed. From the Guaranis the Spaniards learned, that the gold and silver came from the West, where the sun went down, and behind the Cordilleras. Ayolas went up the Paraguay river to a district where dwelt an Indian tribe, the Payaguas—doubtless the original Paraguayans,—and where he had a fort erected, to which was given the name of Candelaria. In this expedition was likewise founded the city of Asuncion—now capital of Paraguay,—in the year 1537.

It was not until 1580 that the lower part of La Plata was once more re-peopled by the soldiers and followers of the brave and adventurous Don Juan de Garay, who came down from Santa Fé to succeed the

\* This was a fort high up in Santa Fé province, on the right bank of the Paraná.

Adelantado Zarate. De Garay had already founded Santa Fé city in July, 1573, and in the first-mentioned year he established a settlement of Spaniards near the same old Port of Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres, from which they had been driven forty-five years before. Again came an attack from the Querandies. At this time the Indians just mentioned were holding in bondage a Spaniard, named Cristoval Altimaron, who had been captured at the opposite, or Banda Oriental side of the water, in former days by the Charruas. Although this man pretended a great friendship for the Querandies, he wrote to the commandant at Buenos Ayres—in fact to De Garay—warning him of an attack, that was about to be made against the settlement by the tribe, amongst whom he was captive. This assault was to be conducted under the command of a famous cacique, named Taboba. The information was written on a piece of paper, concealed in a small calabash, and floated down the Riachuelo, from which it was picked up by some soldiers of the fort. As soon as his treachery had been discovered by the Indians, he was condemned to death; but he managed to escape, and arrived safely on the same night at the fort in Buenos Ayres. The story seems to me somewhat mythical,—chiefly that paper to write upon was not likely to be obtained amongst the Querandies;—even leaving aside the improbabilities of the floating calabash arriving safely,—of the man's deceit being discovered,—and of his having so cleverly effected his flight. In a few hours after Altimaron's reputed return, the Querandies besieged the fort, but they were repelled with slaughter, and their chief, Taboba,

was slain. I believe this tribe to be now extinct in South America.

As soon as De Garay had established, and well garrisoned the new city of Buenos Ayres, he proceeded to Asuncion, and on his way up was murdered, along with forty of his soldiers, in the neighbourhood of the fort of the Holy Ghost, where he was imprudently sleeping, without having placed any night-watch. The assassins were a Cacique, with 130 followers, of the Minuanes tribe.

Almost immediately following the murder of De Garay, an assault was made on the city of Santa Fé by several tribes of Indians, who joined with the Minuanes, under the leadership of a chief named Guazalazo. This attack did not succeed, for the invaders were repelled with loss of their Commander. Owing, however, to subsequent repeated sieges of Indians, the city was transferred to its present site in 1651.

## CHAPTER II.

Indian Ravages near the Vermejo — Captured Indians adjoining Lake Ybera — Six Heroines — The Guaranis, Calchaquis, and Abipones — Another Tragedy in Paraguay — Treacherous Conspiracy of the Indians — Counter-treachery of the Spaniards, manifested in a pretended Marriage — Dreadful Slaughter, the result of this latter — Devastation caused in Santa Fé by the Mocovi and Aquilotes Tribes — Terror of the Inhabitants — Send to Buenos Ayres for Fire-arms to defend the Convents — Attack on Corrientes — Expedition of Marquez Montiel — Opening Preliminaries of Peace with the Cacique Larigua — Repeated Failures in this regard — Treachery of the Spaniards, again — Murder of two Caciques, and several of their Companions — Signal Failure of the Montiel Expedition — The Pampas Indians — Their Superstitions.

A LARGE town, to which its Spanish founders gave the title of Concepcion, was erected on the northern bank of the river Vermejo in 1621. The place was completely razed to the ground by the Indians in ten years afterwards, *i. e.* 1631. This can scarcely be wondered at, when we learn that their conquerors had not only taken them from the cultivation of their cotton and sugar-cane, but along with the usurpation of their territory, had obliged them to work in hewing stone, building houses, and other hard labour, far beyond their strength and custom. Indian nature rebelled against the tyranny; so that a combination of the Tobas, Lagunas, Hohomos, Frontones, and Calchaqui tribes attacked and killed the greater number of inhabitants, whilst levelling the buildings to the ground. The few who escaped took refuge at Corrientes, in which place they were admitted to the rights of citizenship.

In the province of Corrientes there is a great lake, called Ybera, and on its islands during these times was a considerable population of the Caracaros, Capasalos, Mepenses, and Galquilaros tribes of Indians. They were constantly making harassing attacks on the city of Corrientes. In 1639 General Don Cristoval Garay y Saavedra, with a band of 230 Guarani Indians from the Misiones,\* and 100 Spaniards, invaded these islands. Having crossed some of the small lakes, this army came up with a canoe containing two of the Capasalos tribe, who betrayed the hiding-places of their fellow-countrymen and allies. A column of 150 Guaranis and 20 Spaniards was told off to attack those, and a proposal for their surrender was offered, with the assurance that they would be treated with clemency. No doubt, they had already sufficiently learned what was meant by Spanish clemency, and so they refused to yield. In the battle which ensued they were beaten, and many of them taken prisoners. Amongst the latter were six old women, whose age and sex did not prevent their taking up arms in defence of their country's liberties.

Shortly after this victory, 600 of the Guarani† Indians (who were already civilized by the Jesuits), joined by 300 of other tribes and about 100 Spaniards, made a descent on the Calchaqui tribe, that had been for a considerable time harassing the neighbourhood of Santa Fé. Although in this pursuit the Guaranis

\* It will be seen in the next chapter that the Jesuit Mission was begun in 1610.

† The word Guarani in its own language means "warrior." Captain Page gives a most graphic description of the military order and regularity of the daily life of the Guaranis at the Jesuit reductions.



—to whom was due the whole glory of a successful raid—took 300 prisoners and killed a large number, the Governor Don Cristoval, already mentioned, appropriated all the booty to himself and the Spaniards; thus proving that the “generosity” of the latter was equal to their “clemency.” At the end of this campaign was erected the fort of Santa Teresa, (on the right bank of the Paraná), which served for many years as a protection to the city of Santa Fé.

In 1663 the Guaicaruses and Payaguas frequently attacked the settlements of the Spaniards in Paraguay; but they were invariably repelled, although sometimes succeeding in carrying away provisions. At this time Don Juan Diaz de Andino was governor, and in the five expeditions which he made against the invaders, he was accompanied by, as well as owed his chief victories to, faithful bands of the Guaranis from the Jesuit missions.

The Abipones, from the river Vermejo, in 1668 made repeated assaults on the city of Santa Fé, and did an immensity of damage. In 1671 Buenos Ayres was attacked by various tribes of Indians, who came up from the mountains of Tandil and Azul; and in 1673 the city of Corrientes was again besieged by its neighbouring savages. In all these cases, the Guaranis already mentioned were the saviours to the Spaniards from the attacks of native barbarians.

During the governorship of Don Felipe Rege in Paraguay, and on the 20th of January, 1678, another dreadful tragedy was perpetrated here. This governor had been a very inactive, and in some respects unfortunate man, before he was raised to the presidency. It

was, therefore, equally satisfactory as surprising, to see the activity with which he fortified the outposts of the province, as well as sent armies of Spaniards and Guaranis to chastise the repeated insults and attacks of the Guaicaruses. The fruits of these expeditions were treaties of peace; but treaties in which the Guaicaruses reserved to themselves the privilege to make hostilities on other tribes. Under the cloak of friendship they lost no opportunity of striking a blow at Spanish authority, and at length conceived the audacious idea of levelling the capital. To initiate this attempt they brought all their people to reside on the right bank of the river Paraguay, in front of Asuncion. Here their daily occupation was constructing and practising on arms of warfare, which they made no pretence of concealing. But the Spaniards, depending on their observance of the treaties, betrayed no alarm or want of confidence, until an Indian woman, compassionating the misfortune about to accrue to one of the Spanish ladies, who had been her benefactress, revealed the secret of the plot concocted by her tribe. Then the Spaniards got up a counter design, which for its treachery could scarcely be surpassed.

This was to cajole the Indians, by pretending a marriage between two exalted personages of both nations. The Lieutenant-Governor, Don Jose de Abalos, professed that he was deeply smitten with the charms of the daughter of the principal Cacique, and proposed for her hand in matrimony. The offer was accepted. All the preliminary business was arranged by the father of the young lady; and the Guaicaruses were

quite pleased at this new pledge of what might seem to ratify the friendship of the Spaniards on a secure basis. Abalos made a solemn profession of renouncing the Spanish yoke, stripped himself of his clothes, and, after caparizoneing his body with feathers, embraced the bow and quiver of arrows. In presence of the Spanish officers and Indian chiefs, he signed an agreement in conformity with the foregoing ceremonials,—appointed a day for solemnization of the marriage,—and all the nuptial corollaries were arranged. At the same time, some pretences of ceremony seemed to be made, so as to blind the Indians to the dangers that were preparing for them. Soldiers, well armed, were placed in the houses, occupied by the chiefs invited, with orders to make them drunk, and, as soon as the signal was given, to fall upon and kill them. The day having arrived, the unsuspecting barbarians entered the houses of the Spaniards, trusting and rejoicing. In the meantime, and whilst they were being primed with intoxicating liquor, a detachment of infantry and cavalry was sent across the river to destroy the Guaicaruses, remaining in their toldas, and who had not come to the wedding. Of course no suspicion of their doom was entertained either by the Indians remaining at home, or those who had hied to the city for the marriage ceremony. But the fatal hour arrives,—the sign is made,—and, simultaneous with the slaughter in the toldas, the hosts killed in the capital more than three hundred of their unsuspecting guests, “with whose blood,” says the historian,\* “the Spaniards became as drunk as the Indians had made themselves

\* Dean Funes: *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 133.

with wine." Deeds of this kind were not likely to make the Spanish rule very stable in this part of the world.

The new city of Santa Fé suffered very much in the year 1711 from incursions made by the Indians of the Gran Chaco. Notiviri, a chief of high position, and of the Mocovi tribe, having achieved for himself a sanguinary celebrity on the frontiers of Salta, and Jujuy provinces, came at this time to establish himself amongst the Abipones, who were frontier people of the Santa Fé district. Another tribe, the Aquilotes, joined in this alliance, which decided, on a common interest, to ruin Santa Fé with all its jurisdiction. In this they had nearly succeeded, whilst the last-named territory was dragging out existence under the imbecile governorship of Don Manuel de Velasco. In 1720 the Indians of the Chaco desolated Santa Fé city, as well as destroyed nearly all the cattle-farms on the banks of the Salado, the Kululu, the Saladillo, and the Asochinga rivers in its neighbourhood. The country around presented an appearance of the most perfect ruin and desolation:—houses burned,—crops destroyed,—cattle driven about and killed out of mere wantonness,—whilst everywhere were the footsteps of murder and assassination. Indeed, so universal was the terror inspired, that the inhabitants felt it their only security to go to mass with arms in their hands and their horses at the chapel doors,—not knowing at what moment they would have to fly or fight for their lives. The Lieutenant-Governor at this time, Don Lorenzo Garcia Ugarte, could not raise in all the Santa Fé district more than 270 men capable

of bearing arms,—a number very insufficient to make a campaign against the enemy, leaving aside the necessity of garrisoning the city. So audacious had the Indians become in entering houses to assassinate the inhabitants, that the Bishop of Santa Fé was obliged to ask Governor Zabala of Buenos Ayres for fire-arms to defend the convents and religious communities.

Nearly about the same epoch the city of Corrientes was assaulted by the Payagues on one side, and the Abipones on the other. Having destroyed many of the houses in the suburbs, the savages had the courage to enter the city, from which they were repelled with great slaughter.

Governor Zabala of Buenos Ayres having granted a sum of 4000 dollars for the fitting up of an expedition to make reprisals against the Indians, a junction of Santa Fécinians, Santiaginians, and Corrientinos was appointed to take place at Santa Fé city in order to set out on this undertaking. An army of 445 Santa Fécinians, 150 Corrientinos, some Guarani Indians, thirty-two carts, and 800 head of cattle comprised the cortège that went from Santa Fé, under the command of Don Antonio, Marquez de Montiel. They were to be joined by Santiaginians in the Chaco, but by some misunderstanding this junction did not take place. Soon after starting they met with a small troop of Indians on the right bank of the Paraná, whom they put to flight by obliging them to swim across the river, first killing a lot and taking two prisoners. One of these captives was the son of Larigua, a cacique of great popularity among the Abipones. Larigua

himself was amongst those who had escaped. The intention of profiting by the ransom that the Indians were sure to offer for this youth, and the anxiety of the Spaniards to have these spoils divided between them, was well known to the former. Therefore Larigua presented himself with his people on the opposite side of the river, making signs that he desired a friendly palaver. The General Marquez de Montiel did not waste the opportunity in sending back invitations for them to come across. After some treaty, Larigua agreed to pass over, on condition that he should be received by officers unarmed, and that the Spanish soldiers would retire to some distance during his conference with their chief. The Marquez, his Serjeant Major, and a few minor officials having remained, Larigua presented himself in the most respectful attitude, placing in the General's hands a small basket with different feathers of varied and brilliant colours, as a gage of submission and friendship. The Marquez received this homage, and presented to the Cacique a cravat, which he untied from his shirt-collar. In a few minutes, five other Indians crossed over with similar presents for the subordinate officials, which were accepted with equal graciousness. The Cacique then asked for permission to see his son, and this being granted, they fell into each other's arms, with expressions of mutual joy. Then some hours were spent between the Marquez and the Cacique, in high-flown vows of what each was to do for the other, in a friendly point of view. But both entertained reciprocal distrust of their promises—those of the Indians being to supply the invaders with food. Larigua struck his camp that

same night, and accompanied by his followers, advanced parallel with the Spaniards, but on the opposite of the river.

Some few days having passed by without the Cacique sending over any of the promised commissariat, that was to be procured by hunting, the Marquez came to the conclusion that Larigua was deceiving him. Summary punishment was therefore determined on. Having placed two swivel guns on the bank of the river, and in a position concealed from view, twelve soldiers, fully armed, were likewise hidden in the same vicinity. An invitation was then sent by the Marquez to Larigua, asking the Cacique to come over and renew the conference about a treaty of friendship, so important to the interests of both nations. The genial reception which he had met before inspired the Indian with confidence; and so he passed across, with nine of his men, all unarmed; a cacique of the Aquilotes tribe forming one of the company. Cajoleries, promises, persuasions, and presents were advanced by the Spaniards to persuade the Indians, not only to sign a treaty of friendship, but to put their hands to a document submitting themselves to the Spanish yoke, and delivering their own lands to the conquerors. Larigua refused, along with his companions, to give away the soil of his forefathers to the stranger. The debate waxed warm, the Indians continued obstinate, and turned their backs to go over to their companions on the other side. But before they were half-way across, the swivels were discharged, and the twelve soldiers fired, killing the two Caciques, with several of their followers.

This was a bad augury for the success of the expedition, for if it did nothing else, it showed perfidy and want of honour on the part of the Spaniards towards the Indians. Those of the latter, who escaped, served as so many trumpets to proclaim about the sort of enemy they had to encounter. But the grand expedition soon came to an untimely end; for the Indians, on one night when it was dark and rainy, surrounded their camp, and stole away nearly all their cows and horses. The Corrientinos began to display mutiny,—the Santiaginos had not joined them at all—and the Marquez de Montiel being a man of no military, nor, indeed, of any kind of talent, returned to Santa Fé, without having done anything but excited the disgust and displeasure of the inhabitants.

From 1824 to 1832 the Pampas Indians, chiefly of the Puelches, Huilliches, Zehnelches, Ranquels, and Pehuenches tribes, made many incursions into the provinces of Buenos Ayres, Cordoba, San Luis, and Mendoza. They took with them immense flocks of cattle, and carried away many Argentines as captives. In 1832 an expedition, under Generals Pacheco and Benaindes, pursued them to the river Colorado, secured much of the cattle stolen, and liberated many captives.

“Among the Pampas Indians,” writes Dr. Gordon \* to me, in reply to some inquiries I made of him on the subject, “death is invariably—when not the consequence of violence—considered as caused by sorcery; and the Gualichi, which means sorcerer or medicine-man, is hunted to death, in his character of sorcerer,

\* Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Cordoba.



for having caused the illness, or in that of doctor, for having failed to cure it,—a most unenviable alternative. In neither of these cases is there, as far as I am aware, the intervention of any institution like your African Egbo.”

## CHAPTER III.

Chaco Indians—Peculiarity of Skulls—Colonel Nelson's Experience of them—The Moscovis and Espineros—Religious Faith—Causes of Decrease in Indian Populations—Their Cowardice—Indians of the Northern Chaco—Weapons of Warfare—The Tobas, and their Law of Succession—Republican Government amongst these Indians—Simplicity of Marriage Ceremony—Facility of Divorce—Ladies' Full-dress on Horseback—Horsemanship of the Indian Tribes—What Mr. Coghlan saw of it—Dialogue between a Missionary Padre and a Tobas Cacique—The Patagonian Indians—Mode of erecting Toldas—Peculiarities of Smoking—Trade and Barter with Bahia Blanca.

AT that part of the Grand Chaco where, in my exploring journey of 1862–1863,\* I saw the ruins of several Toldas, there were some Indians' skulls on the ground, which I picked up and had sent to the Ethnological Society's Museum in London. These were reported to have been of the Guaicaruses† tribe; but I am not enough of a craniologist to decide upon their peculiarities. From the enormous animal proportion of the occipital region, and the almost total absence of frontal development, they appeared to me to constitute an argument in favour of the "classification of the races of man by the different forms of their naked skulls," although this principle is set down by Mr. Crawford‡ "to be about as vain, hopeless, and impracticable as would be one for the arrangement

\* Vide 'Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings,' p. 121. Stanford: London.

† More probably Mocovis.

‡ 'Transactions of Ethnological Society of London,' vol. i., page 80. London: Trübner & Co., 1859.

of plants, by the shape of the dried fruit of their cultivated varieties."

Colonel Nelson, one of the most intelligent officers in the Argentine army, gives me the following details of the Chaco Indians :—

"First. That the Indian tribes who inhabit that part of the Chaco, belonging to the province of Santa Fé, the limits of which extend as far as the Arroyo de Amores, are the Mocovis and Abipones. The latter named are now for the most part reduced, and form a colony on the frontier of Santa Fé province, at a place called Sausse. The Mocovi tribe is divided into two parties, one of which is called the Espineros, who are natives of the old town in the Chaco, styled Espin. The remainder of the Mocovi tribe is reduced in its greater part, and its members work as labourers at San Xavier, Cayesta, Santa Rosa, and San Pedro, all on the frontier. These originally were natives of San Pedro Grande, an ancient city of the Chaco. Second. None of these latter tribes speak Quichua, but a dialect completely distinct, which has no particular designation, but is different from that of the Abipones. Third. The religious creed of these Indians is in St. Peter, whom they regard as their patron saint, and to whom in any calamity or affliction they invariably appeal ; dedicating to him, likewise, some religious solemnity once a year. A greater part of these Indians have been baptized as Roman Catholics by the Missionaries, that is to say, those who had been reduced within the last thirty years."

The Indians who inhabit farther north than the Mocovis and Espineros, are the Guaicaruses and

Tobas, who are enemies of the first named, with the exception of a few caciques, sometimes assisting them in their depredations. These are generally made in the provinces of Santa Fé, Cordoba, and Santiago del Estero, but invariably at the time of new moon.

I am informed by General Don Antonino Taboada, of Santiago, that the Indians in the Salado valley do not number over three or four hundred at the present time (1863), and that "they are daily decreasing from misery and disease."

All the Indians of the Chaco are timid and cowardly in warfare, their first endeavour in any like event being to flee as soon as they are attacked. This flight they carry out in such a craven manner as to abandon their families or allow them to be captured. Only in the last extremity do they present a front, and then they defend themselves like tigers, rarely surrendering but with death to native organized troops, whom they denominate Spaniards. Lacking courage, these Indians, nevertheless, possess much natural cunning and ability for rapine, availing themselves of every possible means to bring their pillage to a fortunate conclusion.

The Tobas are now the most numerous, and have always been considered the bravest of the Chaco tribes. Their location is at both sides of the river Vermejo, which runs down from the Eastern Andes through the province of Salta, and empties itself into the Paraguay river, nearly opposite the fortress of Humayita. They use bows and arrows for weapons of warfare, as well as for hunting and fishing. In fighting, they likewise throw the "Bola," a round stone covered with hide, and grasped by a small leathern string. This is flung

with such force and precision at an enemy's head or stomach, as never to fail in its fatal effects. All the Chaco Indians in combat use the lance as well as the bola, but they never throw the former, it being always employed in hand-to-hand fight, as the bayonet is with our soldiers.

Each Tolderia, or little village, composing a family or faction, is governed over by a cacique, as every town in Western Africa is subject to a king. Although there is an established law of hereditary succession amongst the Caciques, nevertheless the position of one of these chiefs depends very materially on his physical influence and wealth. I know the same regulation to exist with all the tribes on the west coast of Africa.

The Chaco Indians have no superstitious sacrifices, but they hold strong faith in an evil spirit, against which they try to guard by charms and incantations. The Mocovi tribes have a sort of republican government, as well in the election of their head chief (in case of war, or of "raid and foray") as in those of the subordinate ones. When the principal Cacique, who is a sort of President, deems it expedient to make war, he cannot command the assistance of his under-chiefs before they consult, and have received permission from, the bodies of which they are captains. Each corps consists of from 100 to 200 men. The head Cacique possesses authority to command general obedience, only when at war. As soon as a plundering expedition is concluded (for this is the general feature of warfare with them), they separate into their original tribes or factions, each going in an opposite

direction with their share of the plunder, in order to obviate the probability of being captured.

The marriage ceremony amongst these people is a very simple one. The smitten Daphne proposes to the father of his Phyllis, for she has no voice nor will in the matter. If the proposal be accepted, the suitor is invited to stop during the night, succeeding the offer being made, at the house of the bride elect. Next morning he is off to kill or catch alive, a deer, ostrich, or wild pig, which he brings to his lady-love as a proof that he is expert in the chase, and an assurance that for the material want of eating, she is to be for ever provided. On his return with the spoil, the girl's mother takes the *recado* and bridle from his horse, placing them in the spot where he is to construct his tolda,—*et voilà tout!* On the first night, the newly-wedded pair sleep on a horse's or mare's skin with their heads towards the west, and the marriage is not considered as perfectly ratified until the sun shines on their feet the following morning.

In case, however, that after regrets, differences, or distastes should arise, and the faithless fellow goes wooing elsewhere, there is a much more simple and shorter mode of divorce than that presided over by the present Sir J. Wilde. The defaulting swain is to be admitted as a member of his new father-in-law's clan, only on condition that he abandon his first wife altogether. This is, of course, a declaration of war between the families of the two ladies. A meeting of Caciques is summoned, and a single combat between the rival women is at once ordered,—the truant fought for standing on as a spectator with folded arms, and

obliged, according to the established law, to take up with whomsoever becomes the victor.

The women of the *haut monde* amongst the Chaco Indians ride horses straddles, as men do, and carry behind them a large plume of ostrich feathers, which presents a very curious appearance when the horse is at full gallop.

It may seem a strange matter how the Indians manage their horses much more dexterously than the Gauchos, although Admiral Fitzroy\* says that "no horses were in South America till the Spanish invasion." During many of the collisions between them, the Indians showed an uncommon aptitude in learning the guidance of horses. For as soon as they came in possession of some of these, they would charge the Spanish troops in the following dexterous fashion. Each man lying down at his horse's side, though going at full gallop, and jumping up, turning round, or dropping down, with more than the agility of the most perfect acrobat. Mr. Coghlan, C.E., writes of them:—"The riding of the Indians is wonderful. The Gauchos even give their horses some preliminary training; but the Indian catches him—of course with the lasso—throws him down, forces a wooden bit, covered over with a piece of hide, into his mouth; from which bit there is a leathern cord to bind round his lower lip, and rides him. I have seen the Major at the full gallop of his horse, put his hand on the mane, and jump forward on his feet—letting the animal go on—to lend a hand at something."

\* 'The Varieties of Races,' by Admiral Fitzroy. 'Transactions of London Ethnological Society,' vol. i., part 1, p. 4. Murray: London, 1859.

Amongst the Chaco Indians, the tribe of Tobas worship the Sun, as did the ancient Peruvian fire-worshippers. The following dialogue between one of their caciques and a missionary, the Padre Ping Bengalos, has been related to me by General Don Antonino Taboada:—

*Padre*—"My God is good, and punishes wicked people."

*Cacique*—"My God, the Sun, is likewise good, but he punishes no one—satisfied to confer benefits on all."

*Padre*—"My God is all powerful, and can make two blades of grass to grow, where only one grew before."

*Cacique*—"My God can make grass grow, where never a blade grew before, sheds the same heat on, and gives the same light to the poor as to the rich, and withdraws to his house\* at night to let the wearied sleep. If your God have power to do everything as you say, and be so good as you try to make him appear, why does he not cause the poor Indian to be born a Christian, and have him baptized, instead of punishing him for crimes, of which he is ignorant?" The Padre's answer to this is not recorded.

Farther south than the Pampas Indians, and reaching down to the Straits of Magellan, we have the Patagonians, the chief tribe of which goes under the name of Pehuenches. The islands of Leones and Tabas, in the bay of St. George, Patagonia, are in-

\* There is a mountain to the West of Cordoba province, entitled "Inchiquasi," which in the Quichua means "House of the Sun." Because when it sets there it is supposed to be going to its house for the night.



habited by some of these, who are men of tall and muscular stature, but not the giants that the natives of Patagonia are usually accredited to be. Their women are low-sized and unattractive; the latter use a sort of pigment on their bodies, composed of animal blood and soot. The men have their eyebrows and mustachios plucked, so as that these contain only a single line of hairs. Their toldas are made by putting in a row certain upright sticks of four to five feet in height, and as many asunder, on each two of which is fastened a large skin of guanaco, or of ostrich, sloping to the ground towards the side from which the cold strong wind, or the snow from Cape Horn, comes along. Long streets of this kind are made. Such a protection is, however, erected only in sharp cold, or rain, or snow; for in fine weather they sleep on the uncovered ground.

The chief luxury of these people is smoking. The native pipes are made out of a piece of stone, fashioned into the shape of a small bowl, and into which is fixed a long brass tube; this latter is obtained by barter at Bahia Blanca. Tobacco placed in the bowl is lighted, and each man in a company takes a pull at the pipe as it is sent round. Mr. J. C. Tilston, who saw the operation, describes it to me as a most extraordinary thing. The smoker gives a pull to the pipe, gulping in a quantity of tobacco vapour, at the aerial measurement of which my informant would be afraid to guess. All the muscles of the body seem in a temporary convulsion of straining, and whilst the neighbour, to whom the pipe has been handed, seems as if he were sucking, in an effort to gulp down brass

tube, bowl, tobacco, and fire, there issues, from the nose and mouth of the previous puller, such a cumulus of cloud, as for a few seconds to render his face invisible.

These Indians trade to Bahia Blanca; but very seldom, unless on some important state occasion, do they venture so far north as Buenos Ayres. Their traffic is in ostrich and guanaco skins, with ostrich feathers likewise, all of which they barter for knives, gin, cloth, and the brass tubes for their pipes. They are expert horsemen, like all the South American Indians, and capture guanacos as well as ostriches with their bolas.

## CHAPTER IV.

The Bolivian Indians — The Toronomos Tribe — Their Ideas of the "Title" of Man — Polygamy amongst the Moxos — Their Sacrifice of Twin Children — Immorality of the Itonomos — Demonstrative Worship — Absence of Written Literature — The Priest, or "Comocois" — The Canichanas — "Good Walkers" amongst the Bolivian Indians — Their Travelling Apothecaries — The Mataguaya and Cambas Tribes — Industry of the Latter — Extreme Simplicity of Marriage Ceremony — Jesuit Missions up the Paraná — Variety of Effects in their Teaching of Indian Tribes — Mr. Crawford's Ideas of Crossed Races — Indian Civilization considered by Mr. W. Bollaert — Hippophagy in the Gran Chaco.

FOLLOWING the Indians up the river Paraná, and across the Gran Chaco, we come to Bolivia, about which a very interesting work has been written by M. Alcide d'Orbigny.

With the Toromonos tribe, who occupied, as Orbigny tells us, a district of from 11° to 13° of south latitude, it was an established rule for every man to build his house, with his own hands alone, and if he did otherwise, he lost the title of man, as well as became the laughing-stock of his fellow-citizens. The only clothing worn by these people was a turban on the head, composed of feathers, the rest of the body being perfectly naked; whilst the women used a garment, manufactured out of cotton, that only partially covered their persons. On festival days, the females painted their faces with black and red colours; some of them had holes in their noses and lips, through which rings were passed; but the ornament, in which

the soft (?) sex took most pride, was a necklace made of the teeth of enemies, killed by their husbands in battle.

Amongst the Moxos polygamy was tolerated, and woman's infidelity severely punished. They had the barbarous practice, existing "time out of mind" in Western and Central Africa, of murdering twins as soon as these were born. And so little parental affection existed with them, that mothers used to bury alive their children, who were feeble at the birth or who cried too much, or who caused any annoyance, so as to lead to a supposition that there would be trouble in rearing them. Living children were also buried with their parents, if the latter died, whilst the former were too young to take care of themselves. A woman, who had the disgrace (as they styled it) of miscarriage was thrown into the river by her own relations, for they dreaded such a mishap would cause an epidemic of dysentery to be generated amongst themselves. So that whenever a like event occurred, the fore-knowledge of her destiny urged its unfortunate object to escape, as soon as she could, to a neighbouring tribe for shelter and protection. The Moxos cultivated the land with ploughs, and other implements of agriculture, made of wood. They fabricated canoes, fought, and fished with bows and arrows.

In the province of the Moxos, lived also a tribe called Itonomas, who, besides these last-named instruments of war, used two-edged wooden scimitars. The immorality of these Itonomos was something like that of the Mormons of our time,—exchange of wives by barter and traffic being a social institution amongst

them. The unnatural barbarity of these people was further illustrated by the custom, that when any one was, as they thought, about to die, the relations sealed up hermetically eyes, nose, and mouth of the individual sick, for the purpose of preventing death being communicated to anybody else. Hence many persons were, no doubt, sent prematurely to the other world.

Each city acknowledged a particular god—in the style of the African “juju” or “fetish”—to protect and guide the inhabitants in the chase; but their most solemn faith was given to the deity, whom they designated the “God of Thunder.” Their most general worship of a demonstrative character was devoted to the tiger,\* to which they erected altars. When any man, after a journey, narrated, and could prove, that he had escaped from the claws of a tiger, he was appointed a “Comocois,” or priest, because he was considered as favoured by God. His attributes after the sacerdotal appointment, were to know the names of all the tigers in his territory, as well as to cure diseases. The probation for this honour enjoined a two years’ fasting regimen,—abstinence from marital connection during the same period,—and a rigid prohibition against eating fish. Whenever a man killed a tiger, it was ordained that he should apply to the priest to find out its name; and this he ever after adopted, to the exclusion of that given to him at his birth.

The Canichanas, who lived near Machupo, between 13° and 14° S. lat. and 67° to 68° W. long.,

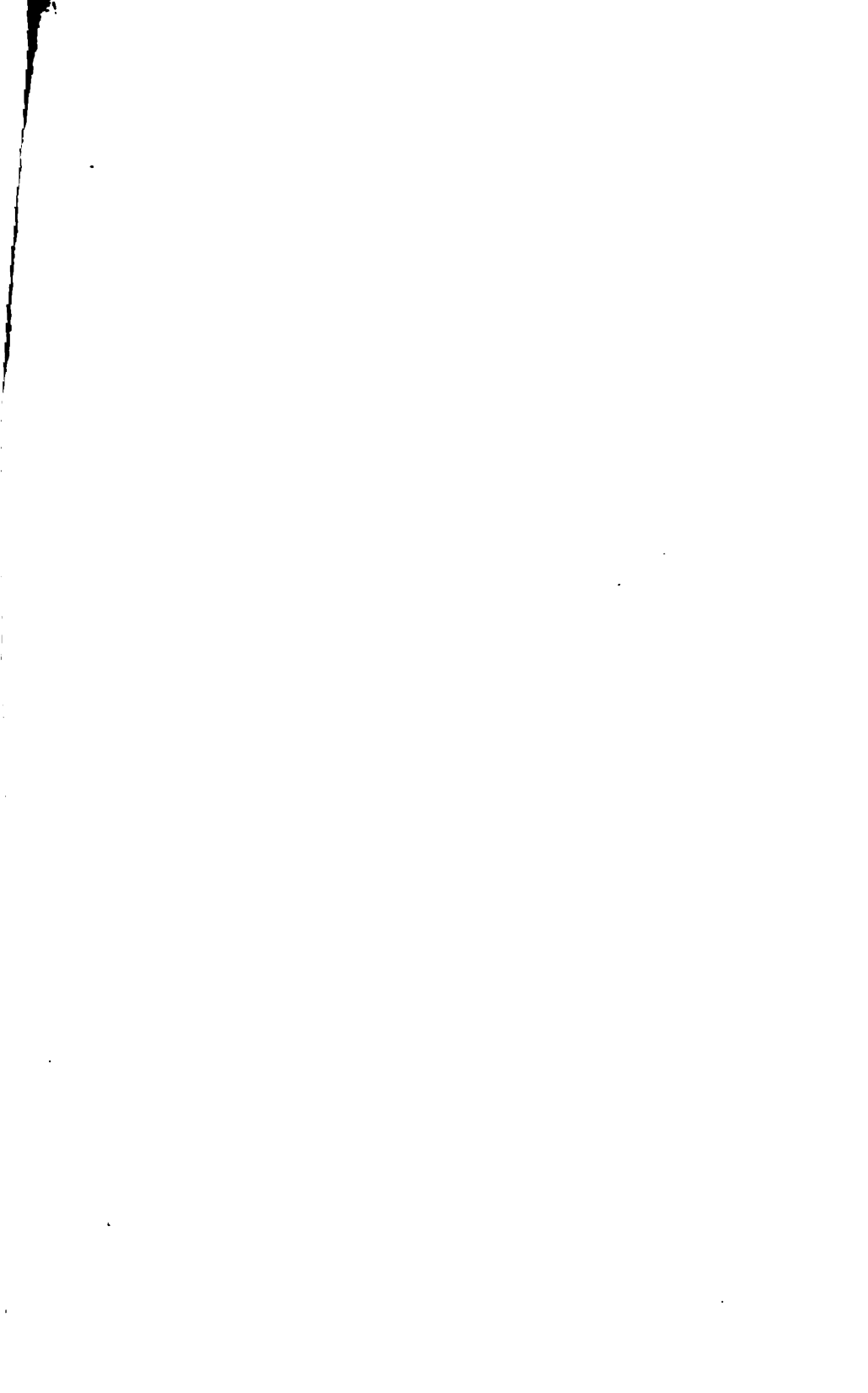
\* This is the South American jaguar or leopard. Its skin is spotted not striped like the tiger, of the latter species I believe there are none in South America. It is the *felis onca* of naturalists.

are reputed by M. d'Orbigny as the bravest of the Bolivian Indians. They are accredited to have been cannibals, having had certain festival days, upon which they ate the bodies of all persons falling into their hands as prisoners. One of their customs was to enforce a vigorous fast for eight days on every young woman, before her marriage,—whilst drinking and dancing ushered in the coming event. Their fermented drink was made from maize.

That these people had any written literature is doubtful from their faculty of counting having reached up only to five (5), whilst with some it did not exceed three (3). A very curious fact is recorded by D'Orbigny—of which, however, I may add, that a parallel is mentioned by Captain Adams in reference to Western Africa,—that in the province of Moxos alone, comprising from  $10^{\circ}$  to  $16^{\circ}$  S. lat. and  $64^{\circ}$  to  $70^{\circ}$  W. long. (from Paris), there were thirty-seven different nations of Indians, and that each of these had an essentially different dialect.

Each nation of the Bolivian Indians, as of the Peruvians before the time of the Incas, was divided into tribes; and every tribe was headed by a chief, whose main duty, in time of war, was to place himself in the front rank of his soldiers, as well as to act in the capacity of both priest and doctor. All his duties were, however, subordinate to the Head Cacique.

Where Jujuy—the most northern province of the Argentine Republic—joins Bolivia, we have in the present day the Mataguaya and Cambas Indians. The latter are represented to me by Dr. Matienzo, of Rosario, as intelligent and devoted to agricultural





On the Honeymoon Trip.



labour. They have fixed *tolderias*, the houses of which are clean and neat. Each town is commanded by a *Capitan*, whose sovereignty is hereditary to his male descendants only. They work as hired labourers on the sugar-cane *estancias* of Santa Cruz, in Bolivia, as well as on similar establishments in Jujuy and Salta, provinces of the Argentine Republic. These Indians have been considered quite subdued since 1843, when General Ballivian, then President of Bolivia, sent to Chiriguinay—as is styled the country of the Cambas—a military expedition to regulate them. Since then they show every hospitality to travellers, and are accustomed to ask for certificates of their having done so. The marriage ceremony of the Cambas is more simple than that previously told of the Chaco Indians. After a chat round a fire—the wood to make which is gathered by the suing swain—the couple set off together to live in the woods for three or four days, when they return as a married pair, with their status as such recognized by the *Tolderia*.

The Bolivian Indians are the best of messengers. They journey on foot, and are remarkably expert in their marches, keeping pace with the traveller on a mule. Some have the title of "good walkers," and are employed by the Government to bear official despatches in critical times, on account of their swiftness of foot and well-proved fidelity. They have been known to march at the rate of twenty leagues a day for several days in succession, whilst having no sustenance during the time but some coca\* leaves and a

\* The coca is the *Erithrocydon Coca*. It is a shrub that grows to the height of six feet, and resembles the vine. Its leaves are small, and of a clear green colour; its flowers are white, and produce a red berry. When

little ground maize. These journeys they accomplish without the slightest semblance of fatigue.

When staying to change horses at a post called Encruzijada, in the province of Cordoba, during my exploring journey of 1862-63, I met some of the Bolivian Indians. These were Yunguenos,\* from the district of Yungas—which is famous for its coffee—and they were of the class of travelling apothecaries in South America. Fastened in bales on each side of their asses' backs were bundles of chinchona, of coca leaf, of incense, storax, and magnetic iron, together with various kinds of nuts and herbs that are reputed good for the cure of diseases. They were diminutive, wretched-looking creatures. All wore their long hair plaited in the style of what were entitled pig-tails in England a few centuries ago. This is said to be a mark of exemption from military service—a privilege for which they are obliged to pay a yearly tax to their Government.

mature, the leaves fall off the branches at the slightest touch of the hand. Its properties are stimulant, tonic, very nourishing, and slightly narcotic. It has an agreeable aroma, and a taste similar to tea. The natives of the country make an infusion of it to administer in cases of stomach-ache. The longevity of the Indians, who feed on coca, is proverbial in Peru and Bolivia; and Dr. Scrivener has seen hundreds of them beyond eighty years of age who had eaten it from their infancy. A powder, which bears the Quichua name of "Lipta," is mixed with the coca leaf when it is being chewed. This is prepared from cooked potatoes pounded into a pulp—then burned into ashes along with the cob or body of an Indian corn head, which gives it a saline and alkaline flavour.

\* In the Medico-Botanical Society's Transactions for 1832 there is a very interesting memoir on these people, entitled 'Some Account of the Yunguenos, or Native Doctors of Peru, and of the Medicines sold by them,' by Wm. Bollaert, F.R.G.S., &c. Mr. Bollaert says, "They are sometimes called Callahuayas. The Chirihuanos appear their proper Quichcan nomenclature." This memoir is very interesting, and well worth the study of those who are curious in the matter.

After a continued series of wars, tyrannies, treacheries, and cruelties on the part of the invading Spaniards, the Indians received with the greatest welcome the first Jesuit missionaries, Padres Cataldino and Mazeta, who founded the earliest establishment of their order up the Paraná in 1610,\* at a place to which they gave the name of Loreto, in the province of Guayra. Here was the commencement of the famous Misiones, which extended behind Entre Rios and Corrientes provinces, dividing the eastern portion of the Argentine Republic from the Empire of Brazil. The plans of Jesuit teaching, the results of their labours for more than two centuries, and their expulsion in 1767, are sufficiently well known. Some writers attribute their success to having founded their schooling on the mode adopted by the ancient Incas of Peru, joined of course to Christian instruction. But, be that as it may, that they held a powerful influence over these Indians is evident, from what Mr. Mansfield tells us, of a hundred thousand, professing Christianity, having declared themselves ready to fight for their teachers against the officials and soldiers of King Charles III. of Spain, who were ordered to carry out the decree of banishment in the year last mentioned.

It is curious to observe what a variety of effects the Jesuit teachings had on different tribes of the Indians. Dean Funes† writes of a Cacique of the Arecaya tribe, a man of fine personal stature, brave.

\* This is on the authority of Dean Funes, who is described by Sir Woodbine Parish as "singularly deficient in dates."

† Op. cit., tom. ii., p. 61.

enthusiastic, and withal diplomatic, who wielded such a despotism over his people as to make them adore him for God the Father, his wife for the Virgin Mary, and his daughter for a lesser Holy Mary—no doubt a holy personage of his own creation. Whilst Mons. Charles Beck Bernard\* says, that in the old church of San Xavier, in the Gran Chaco, the Indians, after its desertion by the priests, had sewed up the statues of the saints with horseskins, for the object of preservation; thus making them appear like so many Egyptian mummies.

The subject of Indian civilization—be it of a religious or secular character, or advocated, as the late Mons. Amadée Jacques did, by the crossing of races—is a thing in which I must confess that I entertain no faith. With all the sacrifices of the Jesuit missionaries, with labours “endured,” as Capt. Page says, “for three hundred years at the price of blood and Christian self-denial,” the Indian mind, even laying aside its atrocities, has never emerged from the intellectual development of childhood. These savages showed the imitative faculties of the animal. That is, when taught, they delved and ploughed, planted cotton and sugar-cane, executed work in carpentry, wove fabrics, and performed other manual operations. Yet what proofs exist that their reason and intelligence advanced, not even *pari passu*, but in any degree at all, with the progress of European civilization? Or that the natures of their female population have become modified with the slightest trait of the humanities and tendernesses which are the

\* Op. cit., p. 130.

brightest attributes of our women of the nineteenth century? Not one jot more, I regret to say, than seems the result of the enormous sums of money and immense sacrifice of human life that have been expended in Church missionary establishments over Western Africa, where, up to a few years back, to my own personal knowledge, and up to the present time, from undoubted information, cannibalism and human sacrifices existed, and still flourish, with as much atrocity as they did three hundred years ago.

In that theory of Indian improvement, which refers to crossing of the race with white men, there appears to me no hope. The history of mulatto-Negroes, as of mulatto-Indians, all over the world, and from all time, confirms the doctrine enunciated by Mr. Crawford in his paper "On the Mixture of Races," which was read at the British Association meeting in Newcastle-upon-Tyne a few years ago, and wherein he observed :—" Nature has endowed the various races of man with widely different qualities, bodily and mental, just the same as it has done with several closely allied species of the lower animals. When the qualities of different races of man are equal, no detriment results from their union. The mongrel French and English are equal to the pure-breeds of Germany and Scandinavia. *When, on the other hand, they are unequal, deterioration of the higher breeds is the result.*"

There is a very deep truth in what Mr. W. Bollaert\* writes—and it is given from experience—of the faculty towards amelioration possessed by the Indian

\* 'Antiquities, Ethnology, &c., of South America,' by William Bollaert, F.R.G.S. Trübner: London, 1860. P. 166.

tribes. He says :—"It is very difficult to even semi-civilize the red man. You may modify his religious and moral ideas to some extent, but he is averse to change from the hunter to the farmer: he loves to roam over his prairies; he hates the subjection of cities; he has occupation enough for his wants in the wilderness; he becomes bewildered and uneasy in community with the white man. Thus he remains in the savage state, warring with his own race or revenging himself on the white intruder."

And thus he will remain, till, "decreasing from misery and disease," as General Taboada says, his extermination is effected (as has been done in North America) by the advancing influence of commerce and industrial knowledge, to whose progress he is an obstacle, and of civilization with Christianity, whose advantages he can never appreciate.

From all the Jesuit missions in the Gran Chaco we find no remaining evidence of better knowledge, but that the Indians now-a-days prefer horse-flesh to any other kind of meat; so that Hippophagy can scarcely be claimed as an original institution by the belles and swells of Paris.

## CHAPTER V.

Works of Reference on South America—De Azara on the Indians—Derivation of Names of Paraguay and Uruguay—The River of Canoes—Products of Paraguay—Of Cannibalism amongst the Charruas—Warfare against the Spaniards—Manners and Customs of the Charruas—Their Arms of Warfare—Custom with Girls arriving at Puberty—Manly Badge given to Boys at their Birth—Barbote—Licentiousness of Life—Barbarous Style of Mourning—The Yaros and their First Exploits—Their Extermination—The Bohans and Chanas—The Minuanes—Their Difference from and Similarity to the Charruas—Peculiarities of their Mourning Ceremonies—Failure of Jesuit Missionaries amongst them.

OF the many works of reference on South American affairs mentioned in the preface to Sir Woodbine Parish's book ('Buenos Ayres before the Conquest') I have consulted only three—namely, that of Dean Funes,\* the two volumes of Don Feliz de Azara,† and the work of M. Alcide d'Orbigny, the last named relating chiefly to Bolivia. The preceding chapters were collated chiefly from Dean Funes, before De Azara's book came within my reach.

Writing of the climate and winds, De Azara says with truth, that in no part of the world are there

\* Op. cit.

† 'Description y historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, obra postuma de Don Feliz de Azara,' Madrid, 1847, 2 vols. In his lifetime De Azara had compiled a work on the birds and quadrupeds of Paraguay, the MS. whereof he had sent to Paris for the opinion of a French naturalist upon it, and there in 1801 through the complicity of his brother, but without his consent, it was translated into French, and published by Monsieur L. E. Moreau-Saint-Méry.

more healthy countries, than those which constitute the so-called Rio de la Plata territories. The chapters, extending up to nine, on the disposition and quality of lands—on the salts and minerals—on the rivers, ports, and fishes—on the indigenous and cultivated vegetation—on the insects, frogs, and snakes—on the quadrupeds and birds, are very interesting.

De Azara tells us, that the river Paraguay derives its name from the Payaguas tribe of Indians, who were the earliest navigators on its waters. Some writers deduce the origin of its title from an Indian cacique, called Paraguaio, but Azara says, this latter word has no signification in any known idiom of the Indians, and moreover there is no record of a cacique ever having borne that name. The derivation of Paraná\* has been already explained. The Uruguay is called so after a bird, the Uru, which is found in the woods on its banks, and the term Uruguay signifies the country of the Uru. This river in its upper course (*i. e.* not more than twenty-five leagues from its source in 28° S. lat.) has the name of the Rio de las Canoas (River of Canoes) and here it receives many small tributaries. At eleven leagues below this and where it is entitled the Uruguay Mori, it is joined by a stream called the Rio de las Pelotas (the River of Tennis Balls), and thence to its junction with the many mouths of the Paraná, where the united whole form the Rio de la Plata, it bears the name of Uruguay.

In early times it appears the chief indigenous products of Paraguay were the Yerba† and indigo.

\* Vide chap. i., p. 4.

† *Ilex Paraguayensis*.



The growth of the first named was very much increased by an improved mode of cultivation introduced by the Jesuits ; but since the publication of De Azara's work an exceedingly interesting memoir on its better culture was compiled and published in 1848 by the celebrated Amado Bonpland. Of the cultivated crops in Argentine Territory, the principal was wheat in Buenos Ayres province, where out of a season\* of 100,000 fanegas of this article, 70,000 were consumed in the city, and the remainder were sent to Paraguay, Monte Video, Havanna, Brazil, and the island of Mauritius. Grapes for wine manufacture, tobacco, sugar-cane, maize, the seeds of spurge from which soap was made, almonds, cherries, pears, oranges, apples, and various flowers. Yet not a word about cotton.

But to me the most interesting part of De Azara's book seems in what he writes concerning the Indians, amongst many tribes of whom he was for a considerable time familiar. He denies the early stories of their being cannibals, or of their having used poisoned arrows in their warfare ; because, as he says, they did not practise these things in his time, and they had no tradition of such matters among their ancestors. Enumerating all the tribes of Indians under the title of Nations, he commences with the Charruas. These, in the time of the conquest—as my readers will have already seen—occupied the northern shore of La Plata, from Maldonado to the mouth of the Uruguay, and

\* It appears to me a great omission that the year of this season is not mentioned, but De Azara was in this country from 1781 to 1801. He died at Huesca on 17th Oct., 1821.

about thirty leagues towards the north to the river Yaro; a large desert being intermediate in this latter direction, that extends to the locations of the Tapes, or Guarani tribes. It was by the Charruas, as I have before said,\* that Don Juan de Solis was killed and eaten, on the authority of Lozano (book ii., chap. 1); but the anthropophagy is denied by De Azara. From the period of entrance of Don Juan de Solis in 1515, up to the foundation of Monte Video in 1724, the Charruas kept up a perpetual warfare against the settlements of the Spaniards. These savages had exterminated two of their neighbouring tribes, (the Yaros and Bohans)—for they were a very warlike people, and tried to do the same with another faction in their vicinity, the Minuanes. But being pressed by new arrivals of Spaniards, they deemed it more expedient to form a treaty of friendship with the Minuanes for purposes of mutual defence and attack. The Spaniards, however, ultimately succeeded in driving them to the north—to the central towns of the Uruguay Missiones, where they gradually intermixed with the Spanish settlers, and effectually disappeared as a separate nation of Indian tribes.

It is scarcely possible to conceive anything lower in the scale of humanity than the manners and customs of the Charruas, as described by De Azara. Their arms were lances and arrows—they were very expert in tracking their enemies—never carried anything on horseback but their weapons of warfare when they went to fight,—could bear an almost incredible amount

\* Vide chap. i., p. 2.

of fatigue, and were often able to subsist for several days without any food to eat or drink. They never cut their hair, which always was very long. The women allowed theirs to flow down the back; and the young men gathered up the locks—ornamenting them with several white feathers, placed vertically. I could scarcely have believed what De Azara says of the Charruas and other Indians, as well as the mulattoes of Paraguay eating lice with a relish, did I not see it several times perpetrated (and always by women) in the province of Santiago del Estero, as in the suburbs of Rosario city. At the first menstruation period, the girls had three blue lines pricked into the face—one going from the forehead to the tip of the nose, and each of the others traversing the temple at a right angle from the first named. These lines remained indelible during lifetime, being made with potter's clay punctured in. A few days after the birth of a boy, the mother made a hole in the child's lower lip, and introduced there the Barbote, which remained in until death, or till another, consequent on the first being broken, required to be inserted. This "manly badge," as it was understood to be, was composed of two pieces of stick joined together and of the same size, that is to say, half-a-hand in length and the sixth part of an inch in thickness. One of these had a head like a nail, which head was in contact with the base of the teeth; its opposite point penetrated through the lip, and to this outside was fixed by a small hole the other piece of the Barbote. Their houses or toldas were nothing more than the tree-branch edifices of the Guaicaruses described in my 'Buenos Ayres and

Argentine Gleanings,'\* into which they entered on all fours like rabbits or pigs. They had no industry of agriculture, or manufacture—were nearly always naked, except in cold weather, when they put on a piece of skin to cover the chest—never washed their hands, faces, or bodies—nor cleaned out their toldas. Consequently when a large number assembled together, the smells from themselves and their habitations were abominable. Cultivating nothing, they of course subsisted entirely on the produce of the chase. They had no wedding ceremony, except the mere asking and taking in marriage. Polygamy, and divorce were permitted to anybody, in the fullest sense of *chacun à son goût*. Their children were not taught either respect or obedience to parents. Differences and dissensions were regulated by public discussion and deliberation. Manslaughter was unknown amongst them. Their fermented drink was called Chicha, and was prepared from honey and water. They had few diseases; but the doctors prescribed the same remedy for all, and that was to cup the pit of the stomach. When a man died, he was buried in the cemetery, that was always situated on the top of a hill, and by his side was interred his war-horse, killed on the grave for the occasion. Their style of mourning was a very cruel one. A considerable time was spent in weeping and screaming. Then if the defunct party had been a father, husband, or brother in the position of "head of a family," the daughters, widow, and married sisters were obliged to have, each one joint from the finger cut off; and this was repeated

\* Chap. xiv., p. 121.

for every relation of the like character who died, the primary amputation being from the little finger. Moreover the lance or knife of the dead man was plunged several times into the arms, breast, or ribs of the living relations, said operation being performed by the nearest of kin, nominated for the purpose. Any part of the body from the stomach upwards might be chosen for this gashing. Following these rites, they remained shut up in their houses for two months, during which time it was rigidly incumbent to eat and drink sparingly.

The husband never went into mourning for the death of his wife, nor the father for any of his daughters. But if the latter were adults when their father died, it was obligatory on them to remain perfectly naked in a dark room, and to eat or drink nothing for two days. To these succeeded other imbecilities of brutality, such as nipping bits of flesh out of the legs and arms with pincers made of cane branches.

After this, and for ten or twelve days more, they were permitted to feed upon small bits of partridge flesh, or partridge eggs, that were brought to and left outside of their doors by boys, who were forbidden to speak a word on the occasion.

Indeed the whole of the mourning ceremony was a disgusting pantomime,—more particularly when we remember that there was neither love nor respect for its objects, whilst they were living.

The Yaros were expert fishermen, who lived on the eastern side of the Uruguay river, between the Negro and San Salvador streams, and who mixed very little with the Charruas. They had a different

idiom from the latter. In war they used cudgels, arrows, and lances. But they were a small tribe, not having, at the first visit of the Spaniards, more than a hundred families. It was by them that Don Juan Alvarez and Ramon, the earliest explorer of the Uruguay, was killed. In the sixteenth century they were all, except the women and children, exterminated by the Charruas; and these were engrafted into the families of the conquerors.

To the north of the Yaros was the Boanes tribe. Of them little is known, save that some were brought by the Spaniards to Paraguay, and the remainder destroyed by the Charruas. They are accredited to have been not as numerous as the Yaros.

The Chanás, who occupied the islands of the Uruguay in front of Rio Negro, were likewise persecuted by the Charruas; but they, fearing an extermination like that of the Yaros and Bohans, placed themselves under the protection of the Spaniards, and volunteered for Christianity. The then Governor of Buenos Ayres removed them from their native islands, and established them in a town of the Uruguay territory, to which the name of Santo Domingo de Soriano was given. This is not far from the mouth of the Rio Negro.

The Minuanes occupied the now-styled province of Entre Rios—from the river Uruguay, opposite to where was founded the old city of Santa Fé de la Vera Cruz, in lat. 31° south. By some authors, as Barco and Lozano, these people are reputed to have been the murderers of the famous Captain Juan Garay, the original founder of Santa Fé, and the reconstructor

of Buenos Ayres. They formed a treaty with the Charruas to oppose and root out the Spaniards everywhere. In all their manners and customs they resembled the Charruas ; but there was a little difference in the mourning ceremonies. For the death of a husband, his wife had a finger-joint amputated. She likewise cut off the hair of her head, and covered her face with it. Her breasts were concealed from view by a skin, or rag, during the official period of mourning, and she was obliged to live in solitude for several days. The same style of sorrowing was made by the daughters for the death of any one, that had nursed them in their own house, but not for their own father. The mourning amongst the male portion of a family lasted only one half of the time that it did with the Charruas. Part of its discipline consisted in passing a fishbone, that had been sharpened and was pretty thick, through the interior and exterior muscles of the leg, as well as of the arm, from wrist to elbow. This instrument was driven in and out, to the accompaniment of a dolorous chant, and with as much regularity as if it were the sewing of a needle.

The Jesuit Father, Rev. Francisco Garcia, tried to form a Christian colony of these people, at a place to which the name of Jesus Maria was given, on a bank of the river Ibicuy ; but they returned after a few years to their wild and savage wood-life, save a few, who incorporated themselves with the Guarani tribe in a town called San Borja. The last of them were exterminated in 1679, by the Spaniards, at Cayesta, in the Gran Chaco.

## CHAPTER VI.

Pampas Indians — Spanish and Native Nomenclature — Their Opposition to the Spaniards — Census of their Number according to Azara — Spanish Presents to the Indians — Neatness of Dress with the Pampas Ladies — Hereditary Title of Cacique — Arms of Warfare — Destructive Use of Bolas at Buenos Ayres — The Aracaunos Tribe — The Guaranis — Extent of their Occupation — Catechism and Grammar of the Guarani Language — This Idiom now generally spoken in Paraguay — Similarity to other Tribes — Their Pusillanimity as described by De Azara — The Tupis — Their reputed Savagery — The Guyanas — Nalicurgas — Guasarapos — Ninaquiquilas — Guatos — Orejones — Albayas and other Tribes.

THE chief tribe of the Pampas Indians was entitled "Querandis" by the Spaniards, although they called themselves "Pehuelches." Various segments of these, under different names, occupied the immense tract of ground between the river Paraná and the republic of Chili. The Querandis, as we have already seen, were the great opponents to settlement of the Spaniards in Buenos Ayres. For several centuries after the permanent foundation of that city by Don Juan de Garay in 1580, the Pampas Indians, although signing treaties of peace, persecuted the Spanish settlers in every way. Killing their soldiers and estancieros, stealing their cattle, making captives of their wives and children. At the time that De Azara composed his book, namely, at the end of the last century, he calculated the Pampas Indians to consist of only 400 warriors, or heads of families. Their language was said to be more expressive than any of the other Indian dialects,—on occasions, indeed, being



capable of a sublime eloquence, when the caciques harangued their grievances to the Spanish viceroys. The end of these discussions was generally followed by presents from the Spaniards, of a blue velvet coat with ruffles, flesh-coloured waistcoat, hat, and silver-pointed stick to the caciques, and of toys or aguardiente to the common people. Unlike the Charruas, they paid attention to dress and appearance. Although they did not paint nor cut the hair, the males wore their locks with the ends turned up, and a tape tied tightly round the head, so as to keep it in an erect fir-bush position. The women divided their hair in the centre, making on each side a large and tight clump, fastened with a piece of ribbon. This presented the appearance of a horn, and fell down over each ear to the length of the upper arm. They not only used combs and washed themselves, but were in every respect the cleanest of the Indian nations. In their mien they were vain, haughty, as well as of little or no condescension. The Pampas ladies did not paint, but wore necklaces with hanging ornaments, and many rings of trifling value. In their toldas, or houses, they were scarce of clothing, but when they made visits of state, ceremony, or business to Buenos Ayres, the whole bodies, except faces and hands, were covered with their ponchos. The wives of rich men adorned themselves and their sons with much elegance on these occasions. Their gala-day ponchos, or mantles, were ornamented with ten to twelve plates of brightened copper, that were sewn on, each being from three to six inches diameter. They wore untanned leather boots too, made of the finest hide, and dotted

over with copper tacks. The Pampas women all rode cross-legs in the same fashion as the men, and the wealthy ones had the head-gear of their horses covered over with small silver plates, the spurs and stirrups being made of the same metal. The husbands and fathers used a similar style of ornaments for their horses as the ladies, such articles of luxury being of course always commensurate with the financial status of the owner. Although they were totally naked when riding across the Pampas, they always carried hats as well as clothing, consisting of a piece of coarse frieze, that was to be fastened round the body with a belt and descended to the knee. These were only worn when cold came on, or when they had necessity to visit Buenos Ayres. No other of the wild Indian tribes of South America were known to dress in the same luxury as the Pampas Indians, except the Ancas, or Araucanos, who dwelt in the Chilian neighbourhood.

With the Pampas Indians, the title of Captain or Cacique was hereditary. Their houses were constructed in the same fashion as those described of the Patagonians in a previous chapter. They were accredited to be more affectionate in their family relation than any other of the Indian tribes. It appears that they made no use of bows and arrows in fighting, their weapons of war being lances and Bolas. With some of these latter they threw in the combustible material that set fire to Don Pedro de Mendoza's first settlement of Buenos Ayres, and a blow from one of these Bolas killed Don Pedro's brother, the Admiral.

The Ancas or Aracaunos Indians resided on the west of the Pampas near Chili, and from time to time

assisted the Querandies in transporting stolen cattle across the Cordilleras. The southern part of the Pampas was occupied by the Balchitas, Uiliches, Telmelches, and others, all of whom were branches of the original Quelches horde.

The Guarani Indians were the most famous of the South American races, chiefly in relation to their connection with the Jesuits. At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaranis occupied a great extent of the La Plata territories, from Buenos Ayres to Paraguay, and a large portion of Brazil. They likewise claimed the Chiquitos and Chiriguanis of Peru to be descended from their nation. Those in Brazil were slaves, who had been sent from their country by the Portuguese, and sold into serfdom at Rio de Janeiro. The original Guaranis were agriculturists—cultivating calabashes, maize, mandiocu, and potatoes. They fed on honey and wild fruit, and hunted monkeys, birds, and badgers. Besides these they caught fish with bow and arrow. They likewise had canoes, and are accredited by some authors to have reared geese, fowl, and sheep; but this is denied by De Azara. A catechism and grammar of the Guarani language has been compiled and printed by the Jesuits, and the idiom is at the present day more generally spoken in Paraguay and Corrientes than the Castilian. They went naked like the other Indians—put the same virile badge in the boys' lips as the Charruas—made a like marking on the girls' faces after the first menstruation. The men had a circular scalp shaved on the head, like a clerical tonsure, but of a much larger diameter; and they swam with as much facility, as if they had

been quadrupedal and amphibious. Like all the others, except those of the Pampas, they washed neither their scanty clothing, nor faces or hands. De Azara sets them down as the lowest of the low for pusillanimity and cowardice; and says that the Guaranis in Mexico, Brazil, and Peru, as well as those in the river Plate, were the first to bow their necks to the European yoke; whilst the other tribes, more valiant though less numerous, never gave up to their merciless invaders, till they were swept away from among the living nations. The account of the Guarani Indians written by Captain Page, and taken chiefly from Charlevoix, would give one a very different notion from that promulgated by De Azara. Page says that "although not the most warlike of the aborigines, the Guaranis of the Jesuit reduction were brave and well-disciplined."

The Tupis, who lived in the woods on the eastern side of the river Uruguay, up to  $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of north latitude, were reputed by the Guaranis as so many wild beasts. For they were said never to have slept two successive nights in the same place—to possess no language but to howl like dogs—to have the lower lip slit in two by a vertical cut—to be cannibals—and sometimes to sojourn in nests, or cages, made up in trees. De Azara states that these traits of character were the invention of a Jesuit, and were not correct, although he presents us with no authority for his contradiction, save his own *ipse dixit*. Indeed, in much of his writings, this author seems stepping out of his way to depreciate the disciples of Loyola, as well as their teaching.

So late as January, 1800, a few hundred Tupis crossed over the Uruguay river during low water, at

a ford between the towns of Concepcion and Santa Maria, and proceeded northwards to the hill of the Martyrs.\* This is in the Misiones territory, where Yerba is cultivated. Here they attacked and pillaged a large Guarani town. But the neighbouring peoples of this latter tribe assembled together—pursued the invaders and routed them. Two of the Tupis—a woman of about eighteen† years of age and a girl of twelve—were detained for some time in the house of the Spanish Administrador (or Governor) at Concepcion. They however soon escaped into the woods. From the ladies, whose manners were rather free and easy whilst at the Governor's, something was learned of the uses and customs amongst their tribe. Yet these have so little difference from those already noticed, as not to be worth commenting on.

Of the Guayanás horde, there were several tribes,—independent of each other, and speaking different idioms, although having the same title of race.‡ Their territory extended from the river Guarai, one of the affluents into the Uruguay for many leagues northwards, and stretched over to the Paraná opposite the city of Corpus Christi. They were some of the most vigorous opponents of the Spanish invaders. The colour of their skins was not so dark as that of the other Indians. Like the Tupis, they were agri-

\* Between lat. 28° and 29° S.

† In South America, even at the present day, women frequently have families of three or four children before arriving at this age.

‡ Like the Kwa tribe in Western Africa: one segment living up the Kamaroons river, another up the Old Kalabar, and a third interior to Bonny; each speaking a different language from, and knowing nothing of the existence of, the other.

culturists, but did not keep any domestic animals. They were remarkable for being very much afraid of passing large rivers; but in all their customs, they resembled those already described.

The Nalicurgas Indians, who lived up near  $21^{\circ}$  S. lat., were reputed to dwell in caves, to be very limited in number, and to go entirely naked.

The Gausarapos, or Guuchies, dwelt in the marshy districts near where the river Guasarapo, or Guuchie, has its source. This stream enters from the east into the Paraguay at  $19^{\circ} 16' 30''$  S. lat. The tribe, of which we are discussing, used to travel down the river-side till they reached Paraguay territory; and although they joined with the Albayas to make war against the Niniquiquilas, marriages between the conflicting races were, nevertheless, often celebrated. The Guasarapos subsisted on the wild rice, that grew in their marshy neighbourhood, as well as on the fish of their rivers. The latter they killed with bow and arrows. Their custom of personal adornment was to pluck the eyebrows and eyelashes, as well as the beard from the men, and to use the manly badge in a hole made through the lip, as previously mentioned.

The Cuatos lived inside of a lake to the west of the river Paraguay, and constituted a very small tribe, to the number of about thirty families. They never ventured outside their lake, which they navigated in canoes, each capable of containing two persons. Whenever any stranger by chance came amongst them, they hid themselves in the rushes or reed-masses, so that little or no account of their morals and manners can be given.

The Orejones dwelt on the eastern brows of the mountains of Santa Lucia or San Fernando—close to the western side of Paraguay river, and not far from the lakes Mamore and Yaiba. Their territory extended from 19° S. lat. to an island near the mouth of the river Jaurú, which they also occupied. Alvar Nunez—at the time that he held the post of Spanish governor in Paraguay—made captives of the greater part of this tribe, and forcibly brought them to Asuncion, where they were distributed in lots, and came to be mixed up with the Guaranis. De Azara says that the Alhabas called them the ridiculous (because difficult, if not impossible of pronunciation) Kamskathcan name of “Agintequedichāgas.” One requires to take breath, even after only writing such an appellative.

Although they had no canoes, they subsisted principally by fishing, and partly by agriculture. The different accounts given of these people by the Spanish writers, Alvar Nunez, Schimidels, and Rui Diaz, are all doubted by De Azara—even to the unimportant points of having holes made in the lips and noses, as well as fastening the ears by cicatrices to the occiput.

Another tribe, the Niniquiquilas, had likewise the names of Potreros, Simanos, Barcenos, and Lathanos. They occupied a forest, which began at about 19° S. lat., some leagues backward from the river Paraguay, and separated the Gran Chaco from the province of Los Chiquitos in Peru. This nation consisted of many districts, each one independent of the other. The more northern of these kept up permanent relations of friendship with the Albayas tribe; but the others were in constant warfare with everybody, and with

each other, whilst fighting bravely with their clubs and arrows, when attacked by any foe that "meant business." All of these subsisted on agriculture,—vegetable condiments only varied by the use of animals caught in chase. Nature gave them no beards; and they never cut their hair, nor plucked eyebrows or eyelashes. In their stature, colour, form of the head, and figure of body they resembled the Guaranis. Their women dressed in flowing mantles, which they wove from the Caraguata,\* and adorned their necks with strings of beads of the brightest colours. The young boys used to wear plumes of feathers on their heads, and it was the custom of all to go perfectly naked, unless when cold made the wrapping up a necessity of comfort.

\* This is the Cardon, or cylindrical cactus, from which, even in the present time, they make strong ropes in the province of Santiago del Estero.



## CHAPTER VII.

The Guanás Tribe, and their Location — Authority of Caciques — Curious Mode of building Houses — Superiority of Furniture — Neat Beds — General Cleanliness — Hospitality to Travellers — Simplicity of Marriage Ceremony — Commercial Covenants therewith — No Punishment for Divorce — Faults of the Ladies — Excess of Male over Female Population — Its Causes — Licentiousness of Boys — Doctors of the Guanás — Extent of their Therapeutics — Funeral Ceremonies, and Treatment of Prisoners taken in War — Curious Ceremony at Eight Years of Age — The Albayas and Payaguas Tribes — Their Barbarities — Treaty between them — Stoppage of their Invasion — Forays — Cacique — Egotism of the Albaías — Payaguas and their general Customs — Amphibiousness — Payaguas Dandies — Guaicaras, Tobas, and Mocovis — Hard Names — Other Tribes.

THE Guanás Indians were divided into eight separate segments, for each of which there was a particular and different name. They lived between 20° and 22° of S. lat. in the Gran Chaco to the west of Paraguay, and they were not known to the Spaniards, till the latter crossed the last-named river in 1673. Each of the factions, or segments of the tribe, had a cacique of its own; and whilst this title was hereditary, the eldest son of a cacique had during his father's lifetime all the privileges of superior authority—but only in reference to such of his father's subjects, as were born a few months before, or after his birth.

One of the most curious things amongst these people seems to me to have been their fashion of building houses. The houses of each town were arranged in a square; and the topographical plan of every house constituted an inclosed parallel of twenty yards, the

sides of this being ten yards distant from each other, and terminating at the ends with a semicircular *cul de sac*. In both lines there was a succession of posts and arches, made of palm trees. To these were fixed horizontal beams, that formed a lattice-work with the arches. This was covered with mud and long straw, firmly joined on to the bars, leaving a cloistered passage along each side. There was no more wall than the covering last mentioned, and no other opening in the house than the door. Each dwelling-place of this kind was sufficiently spacious for a dozen families, who lived here without inconvenience or dissension. They did not sleep on the ground on skins, as other nations did, but in beds. These were regular four-posters, each post having a double forked top, thus W, in which were fixed four horizontal bars, that formed a square frame, over which they placed thin boards, then skins, and straw on top of these. They differed from the other hordes, chiefly in having their houses swept out daily, and in possessing a more difficult as well as more guttural language.

Their hospitality was proverbial; for they received, lodged, and fed travellers for several days, accompanying them to the next town, on the re-commencement of their journey. They possessed few horses, cows, or sheep, subsisting principally on agriculture. Plucking out the eye-brows and eye-lashes, they marked their boys with the same symbol of virility as before-mentioned, cut the hair in the middle of the forehead, and shaved a big half-moon shape over each ear, leaving the remaining locks to grow naturally. Some of them shaved the front half of the head, and others the

whole to the occiput, except in the latter case allowing a tuft to remain on the top.

Marriage, amongst these people, was effected without any other ceremony than the loving swain making a present to his sweetheart, the father's or guardian relative's consent having been previously obtained; and no inequality of rank or fortune was allowed to interfere with the betrothal. Before all the wooer agreed with the maiden, in presence of her parents and relations, on the style of daily life, and the obligations of each contracting party. For these conditions were not the same in all weddings, "depending as they occasionally did," says the historian, satirically, "on the caprice of the lady." It often happened that the contract included an obligation for the wife to make a scarf for her husband's neck; and it was also arranged whether she was to help him in cultivating the ground, in drawing water, and fetching home wood, in cooking *all* the food, or confining her culinary art to the vegetable department. An important point of the agreement was centred in the covenant as to whether the husband was to have more than one wife, or the wife more than one husband; and if this matrimonial latitude were agreed upon, it was always specified as to the number of days and nights they were to live together. Finally the most minute matters were so debated and arranged in this contract, that it might be said to be more of a commercial, than of an amatory character.

In spite of the minutiae of these agreements, they were sometimes infringed upon by one party or the other. But no punishment resulted from a dereliction

on either side, save now and then, though very rarely, a divorce. "And this," observes De Azara, (who by the way must have been a cross-grained old bachelor,) "was almost always occasioned by the women."

Amongst these Guanás, the male population very much exceeded the female. Such a condition is accounted for by the fact, that some of the unnatural mothers used to bury alive many of their daughters, in a short time after birth. The proportion of sons and daughters in a family was regulated, so as that the former should preponderate. The girls of these tribes were generally married at the age of nine years. They were clean and tall, as well as somewhat coquettish. The boys were married at a more advanced age; and those used to paint and adorn themselves more than was the custom with the majority of nations. They were very licentious, and often ran away with their neighbours' wives; but when the guilty parties in such a case were captured, the man was punished only by beating him with a stick, and the woman was taken back by her lawful lord and master.

The doctors of the Guanás were old women; and their therapeutic science extended no further than that of the Charruas, already mentioned. Their dead were interred outside the front doors of the houses; and the family spent a considerable time in bewailing. They never made war, unless on the defensive, and then they fought very bravely, with bow and arrow, as well as large sticks. Of captives, they killed only the grown-up men,—taking the women and young boys as prisoners, and incorporating these with their

families: not as slaves, but giving them the same privileges, as if they were of their own offspring.

They put no restraint on their children in any way, and took no pains to teach the difference between right and wrong. Their sons were put through a very curious ceremony at the age of eight years. A lot of boys of this age was sent out to the camp early in the morning; and thence they returned in the evening without eating or drinking, whilst they walked in silent procession through the town. On their arrival at an appointed place, the mothers or other female guardians passed a flame of some burning material over their backs; whilst the old women punctured their arms with sharp-pointed bones. Indeed this was done most aggravatingly, although the person operated on gave no expression to his feelings of pain. At the conclusion of this function the mothers regaled their tortured boys with boiled beans and maize.

Worse barbarities than these, in the shape of religious or national ceremonies, were practised by the Albaias and Payaguas Indians, who, in former times, were the chief tribes of the Paraguay territory. They are so indecent as to seem almost incredible; and I therefore do not deem it expedient to transcribe them here. The Albaias were styled the Machicuis and Enimgas by other authors. At the time of the Spaniards' arrival here, the Albaias occupied the Gran Chaco side of the river Paraguay from 20° to 22° S. lat. Here they entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the Payaguas. Their first successes gave them boldness, and in A.D. 1661 they passed the Paraguay river to the city of Santa Maria de Fé,

which stood in lat.  $22^{\circ} 5'$ . Here they killed a large number of Guaranis, and brought many of these, who survived the battle, into captivity. By repeated attacks upon the Spaniards, and repulsion of them, as well as subjugation of their allies (the Guaranis), the joined forces of Albaias and Payaguas had managed to extend their territory in 1673, down to  $24^{\circ} 7' S.$  on the eastern side of Paraguay river. Their wars and devastations were continued past Asuncion, and as far as Corrientes, until in 1746, a new Spanish governor, Don Rafael de la Moneda, so reduced them by besieging their stronghold, the city of Curuquate, that they were compelled to capitulate, and sign a treaty of peace. The Albaias, however, not understanding any principle of pacific existence, and being born to fighting, commenced a system of raids and forays against the tribes of the Orejones, Nalicuegas, and wild Guaranis. They likewise attacked the Spanish towns in the province of Chiquitos, whilst now and then they had guerilla fighting with the Portuguese. This kind of line soon caused the tribe to be exterminated.

The Albaias were a very tall and muscular race of people. One of their principal caciques, named Nabitrigisi, was over six feet two inches in height, and, in 1794, on being asked his age, replied, that he did not know, but remembered the building of Asuncion Cathedral, at the laying of whose foundation stone he was married, and had a son. As this event took place in 1689, and as it is probable he was not under fifteen years of age at the time, it appeared that he must at the first-named epoch, have been beyond 120 years old. Even then he had not lost a tooth, and although

his hair was sprinkled with a little grey, he could mount his horse, wield his lance, and go into the battle-field, with as much apparent vigour as he had done a hundred years before. The Albaías believed themselves the noblest, the bravest, and the most generous people of the world; and disdained to live by anything but hunting, fishing, and warfare. They had a goodly collection of an excellent class of horses—of which they took the most attentive care—making it a point of almost religious practice never to sell, exchange, or give away any of their war-horses. In their habits towards children, wives, and caciques, they differed little from the barbarous customs of the tribes already described.

The Payagua Indians, before and up to, as well as after, the period of the conquest, were sailors, and domineered over the river Paraguay from 20 degrees south latitude to its junction with the Paraná at 27° 10' S. The nation of Payaguas was divided into two clans—Cadiqué and Siacué—that were preserved up to the time of De Azara's writing. These people, for many years, gave a very obstinate opposition to the early conquerors. De Azara tells us that the Payagua dialect was nasal and guttural, as well as so difficult, that no stranger could learn it. Their women did all the labour of working, making earthen pots, cultivating the ground, cutting firewood, and cooking. These females never ate meat, because it was supposed to do them harm; although the why or wherefore of this thought is not explained, and their mode of eating fish, on which they fed, was more scientific than lady-like. For they kept all the small bones inside their

jaws, as they went on in mastication, and only took them out when the meal was concluded. They cultivated cotton and wove cloth. Grown-up boys and girls went perfectly naked, except when cold weather came on; but the dandies of the tribe used to paint waistcoat, trowsers, and stocking-patterns on their skins. Some of their festivals, celebrated in the month of June, are not fit to be described. It was the custom on the death of a Payagua, that his body should be rolled up by some old woman in his cloak or shirt, along with his war-arms and ornaments; and that he be sent in a canoe hired for the purpose—an Indian Shillibeer—to be buried in his family cemetery. Formerly the bodies were interred in a sitting position,—leaving the head over the ground,—and this was covered with a large baked earthen pot. But as the armadillos and wild pigs had no respect for the defunct red man, and were accustomed to devour the parts exposed, this practice was changed into a complete burial, after the fashion introduced by the Spaniards. Every family had its own burial-place in the general Necropolis, and these were marked out by diminutive toldas, and heaps of baked earthen pots piled one over the other, as well as by keeping the sites free of weeds. Only the women of a family wept for the dead husband or father during a few successive days; but if the deceased had been killed by an enemy, all the women in town kept up the wailing night and day for a week. The Payaguas were expert in swimming, as well as in the management of their canoes; and never lost their bows, arrows, or fish by the upsetting of a canoe, even in the deepest water.

The Guaicarus lived on the Chaco side of Paraguay



river and subsisted entirely by hunting. From the barbarous custom, which their women had, of inducing abortion to avoid the pain or trouble of child-bearing, they became exterminated soon after the conquest. At the time when De Azara wrote, there was only one man of this tribe alive—a fellow six feet high—and three women, who had incorporated themselves with the Tobas. Yet Alvar Nunez, some seventy-five or eighty years before, relates this tribe to contain 40,000 warriors.

Amongst other races up here, were some with the preposterous names of Quiesmagpipo, Cochabot, and Cocoloth. In his notice of the Cochabots, who were styled Esabostes by the Machicus, and Guimagas by the Spaniards, De Azara tells us that they made war on a nation called the Guentuse, causing it to divide itself into two factions, one of which, with a quotient of 150 families, left their native soil to go live on the banks of a river called the “Flagnagmegtempela,” that cut through the Chaco, entering the Paraguay, and was believed to be an off-shoot of the Vermejo. Such titles as that of the river, mentioned in the last sentence, with the nomenclatures of the cities of the Machicuis, as Cuomoquigmon, Ambuiamadimon, Eusegiepop, Quiomomcomel, Quiguailieguaipon, Quiabanapuacsie, Yoteaguaiencue, Somguotayamoctac, and others equally unpronounceable, make one anxious to know something about the *unde derivatum*, on which such names were formed. Paraphrasing Byron a little, we may say of these that they are all significant of—

“A hoarse, harsh, *Indian, Southern*, guttural,  
That makes one hiss, and spit, and sputter all.”

The Tobas, who have also the titles of Natecoet and Yncanabaite, were amongst the best fighters of the Indians. They occupy the Gran Chaco, chiefly on the banks of the river Vermejo, and between that and the Pilcomayo. Of these there are some remains in the present day, and not many years have passed by since they made an incursion into the province of Santiago del Estero.

The Mocovis are likewise to be still found in the Chaco, and they bring pasture as well as firewood across the river Paraná to sell at Corrientes. When I was up at the last-named city in March, 1866, I saw several groups of them about, and it would be impossible for pen or pencil to describe their miserable appearance. They were nearly half naked, had no more than half-an-inch of forehead, hair very long, and were going about the streets, like dogs in a time of famine, picking up grains of Indian corn and pieces of rotten fruit or vegetable, which were eaten ravenously at the moment of being found. None of them had a feather in the nose (as Schmidel says), nor in the lower lip, as De Azara mentions. But in their whole aspect they were as far as possible from what the latter describes them, "unconquerable, haughty, of lofty bearing, aristocratic, and warlike." De Azara observes, that their idiom is different from all others, and so difficult, that the Jesuit fathers, after twenty-five years' endeavours, failed to translate the catechism into it. But every reader knows that De Azara was opposed to the Jesuit teaching, and if the Mocovi tongue was more difficult than that of the Machicuis, some of whose big names I have already transcribed, I

think the Jesuit fathers deserve our sympathy for their twenty-five years' worse than oakum-picking at such a dialect.

The Abipones, who were also styled Ecusgina and Quiabanabaité, lived in the Chaco, so low down as 28° south. This was the tribe with whom the Jesuits incorporated, when they erected the city of San Gerónimo, in the Gran Chaco, and nearly opposite Goya, in 1748. The Taraies, from whom the river Tauru takes its name, or Bororas, as they are styled by Rui Diaz, the Vilelas and Chumipis, the Quilmes and Calianos, with several others, are noticed briefly by De Azara. The Quilmes lived in the valleys of Santiago del Estero, till they were brought down in 1618, and formed a population, to which they gave their name in the province of Buenos Ayres.

Of the early history of the Spanish invasion and subsequent dissensions, illustrated by political diatribes and civil wars, I have no desire to follow De Azara in his second volume. Those who take an interest in these matters can see them most fully set forth in the six octavo volumes of Don Pedro de Angelis, published contemporaneously with the first edition of Sir Woodbine Parish's 'Buenos Ayres before the Conquest.'\*

\* This collection of De Angelis is in the library of the Royal Geographical Society in London.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Patagonians — Account of them by Alcide D'Orbigny — Tehuelches at Chupat, the real Patagonians — The Giant Men of Old — Group of them at Buenos Ayres — Their Physical Appearance — Passive Contentment — Small Feet — Dulcet Language — Free and Easy Garments — Mistaken Ideas of Gigantic Stature by ancient Writers — Locale of Tehuelches — Welsh Colony of Chupat — What Sir Woodbine Parish says of the Position — Surveying Officer's Account — Captain Watson's Reports — Want of serviceable Wood — Criminal Misrepresentations — Martin Dobrizhoffer and his well-wooded Plains of Buenos Ayres — Strawberry-beds on the Goodwin Sands — Fallacies about Wild Cattle.

OF the Patagonian Indians I have recently (September, 1867) seen half-a-dozen on the occasion of a visit to Buenos Ayres. They were "Tehuelches," who, according to Alcide D'Orbigny,\* are the true Patagonians, the reputed giant men of old, and who have no consanguinity with their neighbouring tribes, the Pehuelches to the north, Aucas or Auracaniens to the west, or Fuegians to the south. Their names were Francisco,† the cacique, Kilcham, who is a great hunter, Yelouk, Weasel, Kitchkskum, and Haisho. All had long black thick hair, high foreheads, and broad faces, the cacique and Kilcham being men of colossal mould, but not at all approaching to what one would call gigantic. They were under the guardianship of Mr. Louis Jones, who is manager of the Welsh colony at Chupat in Patagonia.

In such a short conference as I had with them it

\* 'L'Homme Américain de l'Amérique Méridionale,' 2 vols. Paris, 1839.

† Francisco died in Buenos Ayres during his stay there, from excessive indulgence in fire-water.



Patagonian Indians.



was impossible to learn much of their manners and customs. I saw, however, at a single glance the remarkable difference in their manly bearing and physical development from the Mocovis of the Gran Chaco met last year at Corrientes. Their features expressed passive contentment, although neither vivacity nor intelligence. The breadth from shoulder to shoulder, and the expansion of chest, particularly in Francisco and Kilcham, might lead one to believe that Hercules had come from Patagonia. Nothing that they saw in Buenos Ayres surprised them. Notwithstanding that, from the Azotea house-tops where we met, they could view the ships in the harbour, be cognizant of bustle at the Custom-house hard by, the constant coming in and going out of carriages on the tramway almost beneath their feet, with the life and motion of omnibuses, as well as people afoot, they looked at everything with the most perfect stolidity; the same, Mr. Jones tells me, which they manifested when parting some months ago from their wives and families, for a voyage of some hundreds of miles.

Their feet were remarkably small, so much so indeed, that it occurred to me M. Ruivet (Cavendish's voyage, 1592) must have been dreaming when he described their feet as four times the size of ours.\* Their language, as I heard them converse with one another, seemed to my northern ears very dulcet, and not at all harsh, as it is described by D'Orbigny. Their sole covering was a mantle made of guanaco

\* I may here remark that the name of Patagon given to these people by the celebrated navigator Magellan, is the Spanish word for "large clumsy foot."

skins, which they wore with the hairy side in, and which was the perfection of a free-and-easy garment, being capable of throwing off or on at any moment. I had no present about me to offer the Cacique except a cigar, which he snatched from my hands, the instant it was presented, without the utterance of any sound that could be construed into thanks, and some bonbons offered to the lot by Mrs. Hutchinson, who was with me, were taken with a similar appearance of rudeness. But these they would not eat until Mr. Jones had tasted them first, as he is obliged to do with every comestible, in order to verify that they contain no poison. This caution, Mr. Jones informs me, comes from the fact of some of their tribe, in times long gone by, when on a visit to Buenos Ayres, having died on their return from the effects of too much fire-water which they imbibed; consequently they fear everything now.

The chief points about this tribe, which are discussed in D'Orbigny's work,\* tend to maintain that the Patagonians are not, and never have been, of the gigantic stature, such as is described by Magellan and Pigafetta in 1520, by Sarmiento in 1579, and by several writers of voyages down to 1766, when Duclos Guyot, a Frenchman, brought them to their natural height, *i. e.* of from 5 feet 7 inches to 5 feet 10 inches. D'Orbigny lived eight months amongst them, and his account is very minute, as well as interesting.

The locale of the Tehuelché, or Patagonian occupation includes the territory from the Strait of Magellan to the Rio Negro, in about the 40th degree of southern

\* *Op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 57.



latitude. The Welsh colony at Chupat was founded only two years back, and of this place we find the following notice in Sir Woodbine Parish's work.\* After writing of Don Juan de la Piedra's expedition to Patagonia in 1778, and of the navigator having selected San Josephs, or Bahia Nueva, for a settlement, Sir Woodbine continues, "A still more favourable locality is the river Chupat, which falls into the sea about forty miles† farther south, and which has been recently described by our own surveying officers." After stating the river to be free from obstacles, the banks firm and level, and that boats may be tracked up it by men and horses to a great distance, they say, "About eighteen miles up, by the very serpentine course of the stream is a place admirably adapted for a settlement. It is a rising ground from 20 to 30 feet high, close to the banks of the river, commanding a view of five leagues to the north and west, and an uninterrupted prospect to the eastward. Throughout this extent the country is fertile in the extreme; the soil is of a dark colour and very rich; excellent grass covers it in every direction; *numerous herds of wild cattle graze in the plains*. There are several lakes on the south side literally covered with wild fowl; *a sort of willow (the red saucë)* grows on the banks of the river *in great abundance*, some of *the trees 3 feet round and 20 feet high*."

Of course it was very surprising that such a situation could have escaped the notice of the Spanish officers; and it is a great pity that although this

\* 'Buenos Ayres from the Conquest,' p. 135.

† Captain Watson says it is seventy miles farther south.

account appears published in the Sailing Instructions of the Admiralty for 1850, I must ask my readers to look upon it as something like the fabled Patagonians, recorded by Magellan. For what says the practical Captain Watson, late Secretary of Legation at Buenos Ayres, who was commissioned to visit this place, and whose report has just (October, 1867) appeared in a Parliamentary Blue Book? After giving a detail of what the colonists suffered in their first coming, and after one of them named Edwin Roberts, who had been several years at Wisconsin, said that settlers there had much greater hardships to put up with than any of the Welshmen had undergone at Chupat, as the climate is not so good, and they had to clear the ground before occupying it, Captain Watson goes on to record:—"The article, the want of which they chiefly feel, is serviceable wood. \* \* \* The almost utter absence of trees in the vale of the Chupat is a serious drawback to the eligibility of the site for a permanent settlement. For firewood the colonists have hitherto been dependent on the small bushes in the neighbourhood of their huts, and some wrecks on the coast have supplied the timber used in the construction of their cottages."

Now if any sort of trees, of 3 feet round and 20 feet high, were in abundance on this river, surely there would be no reason for the complaint of Captain Watson, of "the almost utter absence of trees in the vale of the Chupat."

I consider that it is a very criminal thing for any writer to represent a country as possessing elements of this kind, when they do not exist. Who can trust

ancient authors about the River Plate territories, when a seeker for information taking up one of three volumes of 'An Account of the Abipones,'\* reads:—"The land round about the city of Buenos Ayres for near two hundred leagues is a *well-wooded* plain, often destitute of water, but rich in corn and pasturage, the latter of which feeds innumerable herds of cattle, horses, and mules?" For the prairie plains of Buenos Ayres camp, from its port to the other side of the continent—to the mountains of Chili and Patagonia in fact—bear no more evidence of ever having been wooded, than you have in the present day of strawberry-beds on the Goodwin Sands.

Another delusion, which we have in Europe at the present time, is that of what the surveying officers entitle in this chapter, "numerous herds of *wild* cattle grazing on the plains," and what Dobrizhoffer calls "innumerable herds of cattle, horses, and mules."

That these exist in large amounts there is no doubt; but they are nearly all private property, with their owners' marks upon them; and the quantity that is wild amongst the Indians is very small indeed.

\* 'An Account of the Abipones, from the Latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer.' 3 vols. Murray: London, 1822. Vol. i., p. 5.

## CHAPTER IX.

Quichua in Santiago del Estero—Memoir by Dr. Gutierrez—Non-universality of Quichua—Partial Existence, according to Mr. Cook—Geographical Position of Santiago—The Incas Invaders—Adaptation to Manners as they found them—*The suaviter in modo*—Invasion of Almagro in 1535—Taking of Nicaragua—Words from Quichua engrafted on the Spanish—Analogy of Quichua and Greek sustained by Dr. Lopez—On the Guarani, by Dr. Gutierrez—Guarani spoken in Paraguay and Corrientes—The Cahichui—Extent of Guarani Population at Discovery of America—The Chiriguanas of Peru—Guarani Grammar of the Jesuits.

THE Quichua in Santiago del Estero province, and the Guarani in Paraguay are the only existing languages of old times to be met with in the present day up the Paraná.

In my former book about the Argentine Republic, and in one of the Appendices, I gave a short vocabulary of the Quichua language, as it is now spoken in the province of Santiago del Estero. Since then I have had the pleasure of reading a memoir on the subject, published in the Buenos Ayres periodical, 'El Orden,' of February, 1858, and written by my friend, Dr. Juan Maria Gutierrez, Rector of the University in that city. It is entitled 'La Quichua en Santiago' (The Quichua in Santiago), and commences by a statement to the effect that "the population of the province of Santiago del Estero speaks the Quechua or Quichua language, which is the general language of Peru."

From this one might infer, as I have done in my

previous work, that the Quichua is the universal dialect of the province indicated, had I not the contradiction of such a belief in a letter written to me by Mr. W. H. Cock, C.E., who lived for two years amongst the Santiagonians. It is dated Monte Video, March 10th, 1866; and in it he says:—"You are wrong in considering Quichua to be the general language of the peasantry of Santiago. Quichua is not *understood* to the west of the river Dulce. It is only spoken along the valley of the Salado, and its range is very limited,—from Bracho in the south to La Brea in the north, including but a very small portion of the province of Santiago. After leaving Salavina and crossing the river Dulce at Saladillo, the Quichua language is no more known than it is at Santa Fé. In Salavina itself the general language of the people is Spanish, though all know Quichua more or less."

But the most curious part of Quichua being spoken at all in Santiago del Estero arises from the geographical position of this province. A glance at the map will show that it is not bordering on either Chili, Peru, or Bolivia (in the two latter of which Quichua is spoken); but it is about the centre of the Argentine territory. Moreover, between it and the two last-named republics are the provinces of Tucuman, Salta, and Jujury, in neither of which is any language spoken, save by an odd foreigner now and then, except the Spanish.

The Incas were invaders and conquerors. For many years they manufactured paper for the Romans; and it is said of them, as it is said of the "lords of the world,"—the aforementioned Romans no doubt—that

they adopted the best of the manners and customs of such people as were submitted to their dominion. They were much addicted to the *sauviter in modo* in all their administrations. The Spanish army which accompanied Don Diego de Almagro, the rival of Pizarro, on his invasion into Chili from Peru in 1535, was composed of 570 Spaniards and 15,000 Peruvian Indians. From Dean Funes's account of these warriors, it appears to Doctor Gutierrez more than probable that some of them were the original introducers of the Quichua, when they settled with Don Diego Rojas, who after performing great feats at the taking of Nicaragua, was rewarded by Almagro for his valour with the Captain-Generalship of Tucuman \* district. The reason attributed to the Quichua taking root in Santiago del Estero, is supposed to be from some special affinity developed by the Santiaguinians for the Peruvians.

It appears to me that the partial *locale* of the Quichua in our days, according to Mr. Cock, does not confirm the supposition that the Peruvians ever occupied the Santiago part of the Argentine Republic to any extent—even admitting the corollary proof in the finding of urns with calcined bodies, both at Tucuman and Santiago, and with the presence of the Peruvian national instrument, the harp, down to our time. In Doctor Gutierrez's memoir, another curious fact comes out, that from the Quichua and Guarani

\* The department of Tucuman, at the time of which we are writing, embraced the present province of that name, as well as the territory of Santiago del Estero, Cordolia, Catamarca, Rioja, Salta, and Jujuy provinces—in fact more than one-third of the present republic.

the Argentines have introduced into their language some words from these old idioms,—as from the Quichua, the word *caucha* (a patio, corral, or enclosure); *chhargui* (spelled with one *h* in Spanish), the dried beef which is sent to Brazil; *chharcra* (with one *h*), a small farm; *chu-chu* (this word literally translated means “cold-heat,” and is the name given to tertian or intermittent fever). The term Guano (*huanu*) is also a Quichua word. There are many more besides these, which would be too numerous to record. Only a few expressions of the Guarani are used in Buenos Ayres, the sole one which Doctor Gutierrez remembers being *tapera* (ruined habitation).

In several numbers of ‘*Revista de Buenos Ayres*,’ from June to October, 1867, there appears a series of articles by Doctor Vincente Lopez, of Monte Video, on the colonization of Peru, in which he treats of nothing less than the identification of the Peruvian, or “Keshua,” race with the ancient Pelasgi, and argues, not only that the Keshua (so he spells it) language is of Pelasgic origin, but that the Incas of Peru were themselves Greeks. The identity of these is stated by Doctor Lopez to be proved by similarity of roots in language, as well as of popular myths. The subject is treated no doubt in a superlatively philological style; but to my unphilosophical eye the arguments lose something of their force by the Greek letters being printed in Latin characters.

Having submitted these observations on the paper of Dr. Lopez, as well as the article by that gentleman in the ‘*Revista de Buenos Ayres*,’ to the eminent savan of American antiquities, Mr. William Bollaert,

the latter penned the following as his comments:—  
“In reply to your inquiries, I have to say that your observations in reference to the dreamy views of Dr. Lopez are very proper. I have looked through the series of articles to which you refer; and I must say that to my mind, as to that of any student of the Quichua language, they may be amusing, but of no philological value.

“Markham says,\* ‘The Quichua language had its cradle in the districts round the ancient city of Cuzeo; and, as is well known, it was the policy of the Yncas of Peru to introduce it into every country which they conquered.’

“In a paper of mine,† written with polygenistic views, considering the Red Man as a separate creature, I refer to what has been written and surmised as to the relations between the inhabitants of the Old and New World. Great is the mass of material on this matter. Some Northern writers allude to voyages of the Scandinavians to America in the tenth and eleventh centuries, *vid* Iceland and Greenland: that in 1121 the Greenland bishop Eric went to Newfoundland. It is said that Runic and other Old World characters have been found on the coasts of North America. However, such seem to me to be the work of the Red Man—those purporting to be alphabetic are spurious.

“Montesinos, a Spanish writer of the times of the Conquistadores, wrote an imaginative ancient history

\* ‘Grammar and Dictionary of Quichua.’ London: Trübner & Co., 1864. P. 1.

† Vide vol. ii., ‘Memoirs of the Anthropological Society.’



of Peru, which was relied on by Rabbi Ben Israel in his 'Hope of Israel.' By this work the Rabbi endeavoured to show that the Americans had descended from the nine and a half tribes, carried captives to Samaria! Lord Kingsborough follows in this track.

"Cabrera, a priest of Guatemala, tried hard to show relationship between the Americans and the Phenicians. In this same road follows Dr. Lopez with his unsatisfactory philological ideas. Mr. Rankin, a few years since, averred boldly that Manco Capae was the son of Kublai Khan, and that Montezuma was the grandson of Asham, a noble Mungul of Tangut! De Guignes, relying too implicitly upon the chronicles of China, attributes Peruvian civilization to the Celestial empire! Even Rivero and the learned Tschudi consider, but without any grounds, that Quetzcoatl of Mexico, Bochicu of Bodota, and Manco Capae of Peru, were Buddhist priests! Humboldt, who paid much attention to the subject, in his latter years, was not very pressing as to the exotic origin of the Red Man.

"My study of this matter, in the zodiacs, lunar calendars of the nations of Mexico, Central America, Bogotá, and the calendar recently discovered in Peru, described by me to the Antiquarian Society in 1860, leads me to think that the astronomical views of the natives under consideration have originated entirely with themselves. Looking at the American languages (as that of the Maya of Yutacan, with its alphabet),—their arts, sciences, architecture,—the details of crania, brain, skeleton, and the little we know of their physiology,—these and many other points lead me to a

belief in the separate origin of the Red Man of South America from the white of Europe, the brown and yellow of the East, and the negro of Africa. On this subject I could descant *ad infinitum*, to prove that Dr. Lopez can have no foundation for identifying the Quichuas with the ancient Pelasgi."

In one of the appendixes to first volume of the 'Historia Argentina,' by Señor Don Luis L. Dominguez,\* there is an essay on the Guarani language by Doctor Juan Maria Gutierrez, of whom I have already written. This idiom is, up to the present day (December, 1867), spoken to some extent in the provinces of Entre Rios and Corrientes; whilst in the Republic of Paraguay it is more generally used than the Spanish. A sort of 'Charivari' newspaper of a single sheet, called the Cabichui, (meaning Musquito), has been published this year of 1867, at the Paraguayan camp of Paso-Pucu, and each number contains some versicles in the Guarani language. Of the territory occupied by the Guarani Indians, at the time of the conquest, De Azara says:—"When America was discovered, the Guaranis peopled the south-western coast of the Rio de la Plata from Buenos Ayres to Las Conchas, and continued on the same coast, without occupying the opposite side, through all the islands of the Paraná, and to a distance of about 16 leagues inland up as far as 29 or 30 degrees of latitude. From this point they were found only on the opposite or north-eastern coast of the Paraná, in which they again continued up to 21° of latitude, without being again found on the western side. But

\* Published in Buenos Ayres in 1862.

they extended in the direction of the Tropics as far eastward as the sea, occupying the whole of Brazil, Cayenne, and even more. They likewise held towns (intermediate with other nations), in the provinces of Chiquita (eastern side of Andes). And the Chirignanas of Peru were said to be of the same stock as the Guaranis."

The idiom of a people holding sway over such an extensive territory must be considered as a subject of no small importance. D'Orbigny devotes very few pages to its discussion, although one of the Jesuit historians\* of Paraguay describes it as "a language, without contradiction, one of the most copious and elegant in the world."

The Jesuits, Doctor Gutierrez tells us, compiled twenty-four grammatical works, catechisms, and vocabularies, of Guarani, to be circulated through the missions of their order, for teaching Christian doctrine to the neophytes and noviciates in their famous establishments at Paraguay. The best of these is the grammar and Tesoro (treasure) arranged by the Padre Antonio Ruiz, and printed in Spain in the year 1639.

Although the Guarani is now-a-days more generally spoken in Paraguay than the Quichua in Santiago del Estero, both of these idioms, in a literary point of view, may be almost reckoned amongst the dead languages of the Argentine Republic.

\* Lozano: 'History of the Jesuits in Paraguay,' vol. I., p. 252.

## CHAPTER X.

Original Argentine Population—Its Divisions—The Gaucho and his Characteristics—The “Lasso” and “Bolas”—Their Uses—“Bedouins of the Argentine Republic”—Chevalier de St. Robert and Mr. M’Coll on the Gaucho—Differences of Descriptions—Readiness to shed Blood—Wild and impulsive Nature of Gaucho—The Incarnation of Fidelity—Wild Life in the Camp—The true Early Life of the Gauchos—Their Impatience of Reproof—No Fat Gauchos (illustrating the Banting Theory)—Yerba—Maté—Gambling Gauchos—“Suerte y Kulo”—Horse-racing—Juego à la Cincha—Various Classes of Gauchos—The Gaucho Dress.

BEFORE the small beginning of foreign, and chiefly European, immigration to the Argentine Republic, about twenty years ago, the native population might have been divided into three classes:—

*First.* The Indians of the Pampas and Gran Chaco.

*Second.* Descendants of the early Spanish invaders, a large number of whom were Andalusians. The majority of these are either Gaucho\* chiefs or cattle farmers.

*Third.* The real Gauchos, who are generally of crossed Spanish and Indian blood, as well as of the lower classes of society.

I have not been able to discover the derivation of the title “Gaucho.” In Chili the name for this class is “Huaso”—perhaps a term of equally underivable origin. But a Gaucho may be defined to be a sort of

\* This word is pronounced as if it were spelled Gâ-aucho.

Camp Centaur,—for without a horse he is an impracticability,—armed with knife, lasso,\* and bolas.† That some of the Gauchos were in no slight degree brigands or bandits of former days may be inferred from the fact, that during the time of Rosas those of Santa Fé province were called “the Bedouins of the Argentine Republic.”

At the period of my first arrival in Rosario (December, 1861), my knowledge of the Gauchos was based on the descriptions given of them by Monsieur Le Chevalier de St. Robert‡ and Mr. M'Coll§ Since that time I have had many opportunities of studying their characters and customs in various parts of the Argentine territory; and I have come to the conclusion that there exists no such Gaucho type as is described by these writers. Monsieur de St. Robert says:—“The readiness to shed blood,—a ferocity that is at the same time obstinate and brutal,—constitutes the prominent feature in the character of the real Gaucho. The first instrument that the infantile hand

\* The lasso is thus spoken of by Mr. Prescott in his ‘History of the Conquest of Peru’ :—“One weapon, peculiar to South American warfare, was used to some effect by the Peruvians. This was the lasso—a long leathern rope, with a noose at the end, which they adroitly threw over the rider, or entangled with it the legs of his horse, so as to bring them both to the ground.” The lasso is used by Argentines chiefly to capture stray horses or cows.

† The bolas are two balls—somewhat larger than billiard balls—which are fastened together by two short leathern cords, and thrown by means of a thong affixed to them. This is held in the hand. They are whirled round his head by the Gaucho before propulsion, and are so dexterously managed as at once to bring down the horse, cow, or ostrich, in whose legs they become entangled.

‡ Vide Hadfield’s ‘Brazil and River Plate,’ p. 302.

§ See ‘Life in the River Plate,’ p. 10.

of the Gaucho grasps is the knife,—the first things that attract his attention, as a child, are the pouring out of blood, and the palpitating flesh of expiring animals. From his earliest years, as soon as he is able to walk, he is taught how he may, with the greatest skill, approach the living beast, hough it, and, if he has the strength, kill it. He lifts his hand against a man with the same indifference that he strikes down a bullock. The idea which everywhere else attaches to the crime of homicide, does not exist in his mind; for in slaying another he yields not less to habit than to the impulse of his wild and barbarous nature.”

A perfect antithesis to this is the sketch by Mr. M'Coll, which runs as follows:—“The Gaucho, or native peon, is a type well worthy of minute description. Far from being the blood-thirsty robber imaginative writers paint him, he is the incarnation of fidelity and endurance. Ask the Sahaderista, who entrusts hundreds of doubloons to his care, and sends him out to purchase cattle, if he has ever had reason to repent his confidence. Camped out at night with his saddle for a pillow, and his Poncho for his only covering, he sleeps as calmly and with as little fear, as if he were domiciled in the heart of London. The Gaucho is but little fitted for hard work—yet, strange contradiction, place him on horseback, and there is no limit to his endurance. He will gallop thirty leagues a day, without apparent fatigue. A bed he cares not for, but stretches himself out on his mother earth, with no protection from the damp of the soil but a thin piece of hide and a rug, saturated with his horse's sweat. In

consequence of over-exertion few arrive at an old age. Their irregular life, their long abstinence from food, and their neglect of a due proportion of vegetable aliment dry up their vital energies, and shorten their term of existence. A robust Gaucho is a *lusus nature* seldom met with. Their faults, and they have a good number, are to be traced more to the circumstances in which they have been brought up, than to their innate character. Fond of change and impatient of reproof, they little brook a hasty word, and often bring a long connection to an end at a moment's notice by the request—'Patron, make up my account!' Horse-racing and gambling are their weaknesses; but intoxicating liquors are rarely indulged in by them, except on grand occasions, when they meet at the Pulperia,\* on a *die de fiesta*,† and then quarrels ensue, that are settled in fair duels by the knife, which they manage with as much dexterity as a fencing-master does a foil. Fatal results seldom happen; but the Gaucho's great ambition is to inflict a cut on the face, and so leave his mark on his antagonist. Taken as a whole, the Gaucho character is a good one, and contrasts favourably with that of many, who have more pretensions to civilization."

Previous to commenting on those descriptions so directly opposite in their colouring, I may again observe, that during my many years' residence in the Argentine Republic, and repeated observations of many hundred Gauchos, I have met neither the "in-

\* Public house.

† Festival day, be it a saint's day or an anniversary day of the Government's celebration.

imitable Crichton " species drawn by Mr. M'Coll, nor the worse than Caligula-ferocity of those depicted by Monsieur de St. Robert.

Instead of (according to the last-named authority) the first experience of the infantile Gaucho being of "the knife," "the pouring out of blood," and the "palpitating flesh of expiring animals," the young Gaucho is transferred almost from his mother's breast to horseback. His earliest play is with the lasso and bolas, wherewith he catches cocks, hens, goats, sheep, or dogs about his father's rancho. Now and then he varies his amusement by capturing partridges with a long piece of bamboo cane, having a noose on the end of it. Even the Gauchos who work at Saladeros, amongst blood and slaughter of animals, never bring their children to such scenes.

There is much truth in Mr. M'Coll's description, although it is extremely over-stretched. The neglect whereof he writes, of a due proportion of vegetable aliment is, no doubt, the cause, whence results, that a robust Gaucho is rarely to be met with. The story of Mr. Banting, recorded in the English newspapers a few years ago, affords an illustration of the dietary of the South American Gaucho, whose *cuisine* might be very suggestive to persons having a predisposition to corpulency. The working (indeed any class of) Gaucho in country or town has seldom anything to eat except beef or mutton. This is roasted on a stick—the *Asadero*—fixed into the ground before a fire, and is almost always eaten without the accompaniment of bread, salt, or any kind of vegetable. Such meal is followed—with young and old—as well as of both



sexes—by the infusion of “Yerba,”\* which is prepared by pouring boiling water or milk on the material—a little sugar being most frequently added. These are put into a small round calabash or pumpkin, called a “*Maté*” cup, and the liquid is sucked out through a tube—the “*Bombilla*.”

Gambling is, with the Gauchos, not alone what Mr. M'Coll styles it — “a weakness,” — it is their life, and soul, and very existence. Even the women gamble, although not frequently ; for I have seen the wife of a working Gaucho at the Centro-Argentine Railway, not only stake in play, but lose every article of clothing she had on her except the chemise.

At the Pulperias, the Gaucho gambles with cards, dominoes, and a kind of pitch-and-toss, entitled “*Suerte y Kulo*.” This is played on the heads and harp, or up-and-down system of the London mud-larks with their coppers—the Gaucho article tossed up being a knuckle-bone, or one of the vertebræ of a horse's spine.

Their horse-racing too is not a trial of the swiftness and endurance of the animal, save for the object of winning the stakes that are laid on each contest. There are never more than two horses engaged in one of those matches ; but hundreds of silver dollars may change hands on the occasion.

A horse-y game styled “*juego a la Cincha*,”—game of the belt—has likewise its origin in a bet. This is played by fastening a pair of horses—not closely to each other, although tail towards tail—so that each end of a short lasso is tied to the saddle, girth, or

\* The leaves and branches of the *Ilex Paraguayensis*.

cincha of either animal. Then they are mounted—whipped and whipped to pull in opposite directions, until the stronger draws the weaker over a marked line, that is the goal.

This gambling leads, of course, to idleness, which may be assumed as the inevitable cause of vice and dissipation. Amongst the class of Gauchos, devoted to this kind of existence—and of whom I regret to say we have no small number—there is in truth little more of life, than smoking paper cigarritas—sucking from a Maté cup—riding about from Pulperia to Pulperia—gambling and drinking gin or caña—with now and then an incident of the knife.

The various classes of Gauchos may be defined as:

1. The Major-Domo Gaucho, who is generally the manager of an Estancia, or cattle grazing establishment.

2. The Capitaz Gaucho, a subordinate to the Major Domo.

3. The Chasqui Gaucho, a courier dispatched to convey messages with rapidity.

4. The Peon Gaucho, who is only of the latter denomination when on horseback. "Peon" is the generic name given to servants in this country. He is entitled "Rotos" in Chili.

5. The Cartero Gaucho, or car-driver. All the horses drawing cars here are mounted. This title is also given to our letter-carrier from the post office.

6. The Lechero Gaucho (or milkman), who rides into town,—where he generally appears at day-break,—very often from a distance of three to five leagues, with a large can of milk on each side of the horse, to

whose recado, or saddle, they are attached. Amongst all these, gambling is the most generally characteristic of the last-named class.

The Gaucho's dress is a "Poncho," or overcoat, put on by slipping the head through a hole, that is cut in its centre. Together with a shirt, the body is covered by a piece of cloth, passed in between the legs and tied round the waist with a band. This has the name of "Chiripa." To these are added "Calzon-zillas," affairs resembling Turkish trousers, that are often bordered with rich deep lace. The boots may be either of patent leather, if the Gaucho be a dandy, or of simple sheep-skin in case he is only a working man in the camp. When in his normal state—namely, on horseback—the habiliments are not complete without a Rebenque (horse-whip) which is generally made of cow-hide, and is often set off by a massive silver handle. A pair of enormous spurs, as large in their circumference as an ordinary dinner-plate, complete the rider's costume.

## CHAPTER XI.

The Recado, or Native Saddle—Its component Parts—Ornaments of the Gaucho's Horse—Review of Gaucho Soldiers—Splendour of a Gaucho Chief from Cordova—Gaucho plays in Skill and Activity—Popularity of the Dictator Rosas—His Expertness as a Gaucho Rider—Feats performed by him—"El Píalar"—How it is played—"El Pato," and the Mode of doing it—The Game of "La Sortija"—Peculiarities of the South American Viva—Our Gauchos of the Salado Valley Exploration—Gaucho attributes by Mr. M'Coll—Extraordinary Ride of a Gaucho into and out of Buenos Ayres—Clannishness of the Military Gaucho—Social Life of the Gauchos.

THE recado, or native saddle, which may be said to represent the Gaucho's "bed by night and chest of drawers by day," is composed of the following parts:—

1. CARONILLA.—A sheep-skin placed next the horse's back.

2. JERGA PRIMERA.—A piece of carpet, about a yard square, put over the caronilla.

3. JERGA SEGUNDA.—Another of the same material as the preceding, but smaller in size. These two jergas generally serve for the Gaucho's covering when he sleeps in the open air.

4. CARONA DE VACA.—Part of untanned cow-hide, of the same extent as No. 1.

5. CARONA DE ZUELA.—About a square yard of tanned cow-hide, which is ornamented by figures pressed thereon with a red-hot iron.

6. RECADO, or saddle-seat.—To this, which is generally made of wood and straw, covered over with tanned leather, are attached the stirrup leathers.

7. **THE CINCHA**, or girth.—This is made of a very strong hide, is generally from twelve to eighteen inches in width, and long enough to encircle the horse's body. It is often composed of two pieces, joined at one end by an iron ring in each, and these rings united by a leather cord. One of the parts in question is placed over the horse's back, outside the recado, whilst the other is put under his belly; and both are hauled tight by a *correon*, or leather strap. It is to one of the iron rings in this part of the harness that a hook is attached for the rope fixed to a carriage or cart, which the horse is to draw. All the traction power being thus at one side only, frequent need consequently occurs for re-arranging the cinchas.

8. **COJINILLO**.—A woollen cloth put over the cincha, and being black or white according as the fancy of the rider dictates.

9. **SOBRE PUESTO**.—Another carpet, smaller than either of the jergas. This may be either an aguara\* skin, or a no-nata† (unborn foal) hide, with

“The hairy side out, and the fleshy side in,”

and the whole is secured by

10. **SOBRE CINCHA**, which is a strap that envelops all, and is fastened round the horse's body, either by a buckle or a single knot.

The ornaments of the Gaucho's horse, besides the rider and the “recado,” are generally a silver-plated girdle, called the FIADOR, encircling the animal's neck,

\* The American tapir.

† These are generally obtained at Saladeros, where mares are slaughtered for their skins and grease.

and a strap crossing the forehead part of the bridle, to which the name CHAPEADO\* is given; whilst a belt, entitled PRETAL, sometimes of flowered design, and often of ponderous weight as well as colossal proportion, lies across the breast. The stirrups, of filigree pattern, in some degree resemble a silver cruet-stand, turned upside down, and at each side of the bridle-bit is a large and circular silver plate. At the time of General Mitre's visit to Rosario in April, 1863, to turn the first sod of the Centro-Argentine Railway, there was a Gaucho amongst the crowd there, the massiveness of the silver ornaments on whose horse seemed as if they, without rider or *recado*, would have been sufficient load for any Bucephalus or Rosinante. The precious metal in this case amounted to the value of nearly 300*l.* sterling.

No sight can be more picturesquely savage than a review of Gaucho soldiers. In 1858 General Urquiza, at the time President of the Argentine Republic, had reviewed before him an army of 14,000. These Gauchos, especially the chiefs, were allowed to dress as they pleased; and therefore a great rivalry was generated between the Commanders from the different provinces, as to which would make the most brilliant turn-out before the Captain-General. Ponchos of the most varied and flashy colours, calzonillas set-off with the richest lace, most wonderful and gorgeous spurs, whilst the gear of the horses was adorned with a profusion of silver and gold. One Gaucho chief from Cordoba had his steed caparisoned with gold bedeckings to the value of nearly 50,000 francs.

\* This is pronounced as *Recado*, without the *d*.

Of Gaucho plays in skill, activity, and expertness, that can be scarcely said to come under the category of gambling, I shall now say something.

I am informed by Señor Don Carlos Hurtado, of Buenos Ayres, that the main cause of the popularity enjoyed by the Dictator Rosas, proceeded from his expertness in, and patronage of, Gaucho games. He himself was so skilful on horseback, that he could pick up from the ground a silver real piece, about the size of our sixpence, whilst his steed was in full gallop. He would also stand on the cross-bar over the gate of a corral (having a large number of untamed horses within), and with leather reins in his hand, when the animals were driven out through the gate at full speed, would drop down on the back of one, previously chosen, and pointed out to him by some person standing present. The horse went on faster, of course, with this unexpected rider; but the latter, stretching himself forward, fastened part of the rein around the brute's nose with a tight grip, then allowed it to gallop and kick to its heart's content, and returned in twenty minutes or half-an-hour with the wild animal quite subdued, its body covered with sweat and foam, and trembling in every limb.

Another feat of the Dictator's was his slipping down from the cross-bar, over a corral gate, on the back of a bullock let out from a *matadero*,\* and which was driven through the gate by a mounted Gaucho inside. As soon as he had got on to the animal's back, he held on by a pair of large spurs which he

\* This is the name given to slaughtering-houses for the cattle market.

stuck into the bullock's side. Then, whilst the brute set off at a furious pace, he would lean forward a little, and catching it by one horn, would pierce it (with a knife held in the other hand) at that part of the spine near the skull's base, where the Gaucho butcher deals the fatal blow.

But his most extraordinary act of agility was, whilst at the fullest speed of his horse's gallop, taking off the various layers of a recado (already described) and laying them on the ground at certain distances from each other. Then, in a return of the same pace, he picked them up, placing each one in proper order and with necessary firmness. No easy matter, it may be imagined, when you recollect, that the cincha and sobre-cincha have to make a perfect girth round the animal's body.

Another sport in the enjoyment of which Rosas took much interest was that styled "El Píalar." This was performed in catching horses with lassos by the feet, and in it the activity of the Gaucho lassoer as well as the Gaucho rider was very remarkably demonstrated. Two *troupes* of horsemen, each furnished with a lasso, were ranged in parallel lines at distances of ten to fifteen yards from each other, and so placed that a road intervened between them along which a mounted man was to gallop at his quickest. This rider was in fact to run what may be termed the "lasso gauntlet." For as he comes up the lines the first Gaucho horseman throws his lasso; if this should miss its object, the second is flung, and so on. The dexterity of these men, ready to cast the lasso in such rapid succession,

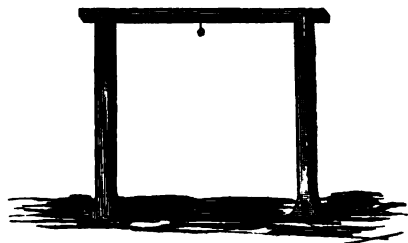


was not more wonderful than what resulted, when one of them catches the running horse, and down he falls as if he were shot. For then the Gaucho, riding the lately galloping, and now prostrate steed, alights on his feet, still smoking his cigarito as steadily as when he set fire to it at starting. Of course the successful lassoer got the prize when there was any.

The game of "El Pato" (the duck) is played by stitching a live duck, with its head protruding, into a piece of hide, and leaving a leather fong at each end for the hand to grasp hold of. A Gaucho takes it up by one of the fongs, jumps on his horse, and gallops away, pursued by others, who try to snap it from him. As this sport is invariably played on St. John's day, the aim of the man carrying the duck is to reach the house of some Juan or Juana (John or Joan) before he is deprived of his burden by any of those who follow him. If he arrive without losing his duck, it is to be handed to John or Joan (as the case may be) and the latter he, or she, has to bestow half a dollar in return. Then another Gaucho catches up the bird, and a second pursuit takes place. By the racing crowd trying to capture the duck-bearer, and wrest the feathered prize from him, it sometimes happens, even with the best of good humour, that falls and broken legs are the consequences.

"La Sortija" (the ring) is now-a-days the most frequent Gaucho sport, to be seen in Carnival and other festal times. It is played as follows. In the principal Plaza of the chief towns, and at about 5 P.M., you will see placed in the centre of the main street, or

principal Plaza, two upright wooden posts about ten feet high, crossed by a beam thus,—



In the middle of this cross-beam, and underneath is loosely suspended a small ring, not larger than a wedding ring. A Gaucho, galloping at the fastest beneath this, is to bear off the ring on a bit of twig, about the calibre of an ordinary pencil, or the handle of a steel pen. Numberless are the failures, for knocking off, without retaining it on the stick, is not sufficient. But many, of course, are the successes, each of which is greeted by a "Viva!" "Viva!" *En parenthèse*, I may be allowed to remark, that the South American "Viva" has nothing of enthusiasm in it. No vocal utterance that I have ever heard, resembles it so much as the "Ease-a"—"Stop-a" of the small boys on board the London steamers, when arriving at their temporary halting-places near one of the bridges—the only difference being a little more of energetic diapason in the latter. For success in La Sortija a prize of dollars is given by the Gefe Politico, or Chief Magistrate—each person, who bears away the ring presenting himself with it at the door of the Gefatura to claim his reward. In Rosas's time at Buenos Ayres, it was the custom to bestow diamond rings and Indian shawls on those who were winners in this sport.

We had from twenty to thirty Gauchos in our exploration of the Salado valley of 1862 and 1863. The chief delight with these men was when a few horses galloped away, from our *troupe* of 300 or 400, and they were sent in pursuit with lassos. Then they seemed to be in their element. Not to capture the stray horses as a matter of business, or with any desire to expedite our journey, but solely because the sport of horse-galloping was, to them, the most important part of their natural existence.

"Independence, intelligence, honesty, and valour," says Mr. M'Coll, writing of the Gaucho, "are four good qualities on which to base bright hopes, and when these exist there is little fear for a country's future." This is an indisputable truism, but I must confess that these are qualities, which I never have been able to recognize, save in a very passive or abstract sense, amongst the many hundred Gauchos that came under my observation. Moreover, the early life of the Gaucho does not in any way indoc-trinate him with a consciousness of the dignity or worth of human labour; and therefore I have very little hopes from his class in the future destiny of this part of South America.\*

That the Gaucho has no limit to his endurance on horseback I have little doubt, for I have been informed of one well known in Buenos Ayres, who had ridden

\* "The Gauchos," says Mr. Perkins, "who refuse to fight their country's battles with a foreign foe, and for which they would be well paid and cared, as honoured for their patriotism, precipitate themselves with alacrity into the horrors of civil war, when there is for them at last absolutely nothing to gain by such doings, but everything to lose." Such a spirit as this is considerably antagonistic to Mr. M'Coll's ideas.

into that city from a distance of seventy leagues, or 210 miles, in one day. Doubts having been expressed of his achievement, he offered large bets that he would repeat the ride in two days afterwards, and this was done from Buenos Ayres back to his own place. In this latter case the news of his having accomplished the journey, and won his bet within the specified time, was confirmed by a letter from the location in question. Although he changed horses at every five to ten leagues, and several of the animals died after they had finished their respective gallops, the feat does not, to my thinking, in any way pale before the memorable ride of Dick Turpin.

The military Gaucho is essentially clannish. He will fight only for his own patron, no matter who may be President or Commander-in-Chief.

## CHAPTER XII.

Argentine To-morrow — Hereditary *Mañana* — National Statistics — Of Education — Primary Schools in Buenos Ayres — Schools in the Camp Districts — Sociedad de Beneficencia — Private Schools — School of Arts — National College — First Printing Office in Buenos Ayres — The Foundling Hospital — Rare Archæological Study — Government Subsidy for National Education — Public Library and Museum — Sociedad Rural Argentina — Oroño's Agricultural College — Poll-tax in Santa Fé — Obligatory School Law of 1866 — Other Educational Laws in Santa Sé — No Justice marching with these Laws.

EVERY one who has been for any time resident in the Argentine Republic will agree with my experience, that there are few countries in which so much devotion is paid to the principle of never doing anything to-day that can be put off till to-morrow. The hereditary *mañana* pervades the whole system,—social, political, commercial, and military,—from the President down to the humblest peon. It was probably owing to this that the second volume of the 'Registro Estadístico de la Republica Argentina' (being the one for 1865) was only issued from the press in November, 1867. The work is arranged by Mr. Damian Hudson, and shows, as the name indicates, statistics of the topography, population, public works, immigration, intellectual, industrial, and commercial progress of the nation, and several other matters. The first part of 'Estadística Física' contains an excellent geographical paper on the river Uruguay, which only needs a map to make it worthy of being translated.

But though professedly a register of the Argentine nation, we find only the four provinces of Corrientes, Catamarca, Mendoza, and San Luis,—or somewhat less than one-third of the whole republic, under the geographical head.

Such tables as those of the population are perfectly worthless, because no census has been taken that could be relied on.

The statistics of the progress of education oblige us to feel that this is not progressing in proportion to what we believe of the increase of population. In the table of primary schools of the municipality in Buenos Ayres, we find, that in 1861, these institutions had 2200 pupils; in 1862, 2387; in 1863, 2664; in 1864, 2832; and in 1865, 3428. Although there is an apparent increase in the last-named year, this really proceeds from the municipal schools—nineteen in number—which appear to have been not long established for boys and girls,—whilst there is an evident falling off in the old ones.

Of the public schools in the camp districts, there is a similar apathetic lack of progress,—the number of pupils in the aggregate of 1864 being only 2827, as compared with 2838 in 1863, or in fact a decided falling off.

In the schools under charge of the “Sociedad de Beneficencia,”\* at Buenos Ayres city and camp, a similar condition of no-progress exists. This society, with its nineteen schools in town, shows 2000 female pupils in 1865, and its forty-eight schools through the

\* Established by Governor Rivadavia in 1823, and supported chiefly by lotteries.

camp have 2877 of the same sex ; whilst the Sisters of Mercy, who have only three colleges in Buenos Ayres city, educate 264 intern pupils, and 319 extern,—besides whom, they give instruction gratuitously to 307 of the poorer class.

In the capital likewise we find eighty private schools, of both sexes, with a total of 5000 pupils, and forty in the camp districts, with 1700.

The University of Buenos Ayres has for its head rector an Argentine literateur of world-wide fame,—Doctor Juan Maria Gutierrez. In 1866 there were 899 pupils matriculated here, compared with 757 in the previous year.

The School of Arts and Offices (*Escuela de Artes et Oficios*) was established in 1865, in the old palace of the Dictator Rosas, at Palermo. From a perusal of its ordinances, it appears to me to give diplomas only to architects.

The National College at Buenos Ayres was founded in A.D. 1853, and its first rector was Doctor Jacques, a Frenchman, who died a few years ago. I found it impossible to get any statistics about it on application, except the mere curriculum of its students, and that is not of sufficient interest to give here.

From a memoir on the origin of printing in Spanish South America, by Doctor Juan Maria Gutierrez, I learn, that the first printing office in Buenos Ayres, was that of the Foundling Hospital, established in 1781, when Don Juan José de Vertiz was Spanish viceroy there, a post which he held from 1770 to 1784. The doctor's report is a rare archæological study. By it we learn that no book was published, or no printing

office existed in any part of this continent, until 1571, when there issued from the press in Mexico 'The Book of Saint John Climacho, commonly called the Ladder of Paradise.' Up to this time, from the first printing at Barcelona and Valencia in Spain, a century previous, laws were passed by the mother government, forbidding the publishing in, or sending out to the Indian colonies or elsewhere, any books without the royal assent.

The earliest printing from the Foundling press in Buenos Ayres was a 'Description of the City of Santa Felipe of Monte Video.' From this printing house, which had a monopoly of the trade up to the period of independence in 1810, were issued some books, of which there is a critical analysis in the memoir before me. Between 1801 and the last-named year, there were three newspapers started here, the 'Telegrafo,' the 'Correo del Comercio,' and the 'Seminario.' The works published here were almost of local interest.

In the Financial Budget for 1866, the sum of 168,604 hard dollars (nearly 40,000*l.*) was given by Government for the national colleges, and public instruction in the capital as well as through the provinces. Of this sum 25,000 were for the provincial contingent; and to its share of this each province had to assign through its congress a subvention for the like purpose.

There is a public library of the state in Buenos Ayres, as well as a museum, the latter being under the management of one of the first paleontologists of the age, Doctor Burmeister. Of these I have spoken in my last work.\*

\* Vide 'Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings,' chap. ii., p. 13.



Fourteen other libraries exist in the capital, and as many periodicals, including newspapers. The only monthlies are the 'Revista de Buenos Ayres,' and the 'Annals of Pharmacy,' both of course in the Castilian language.

The "Sociedad Rural Argentina" can scarcely be called an educational establishment, although it may be the medium of spreading the most useful kind of information,—most useful because most needed,—that of knowing how to till the soil.

On this last-mentioned subject, Governor Oroño in Santa Fé proposed a bill to the Provincial Congress in the Session of 1867, to legalize expropriation of the San Lorenzo monastery for an agricultural college. Oroño's proposal was to give to the Franciscan Friars, who hold San Lorenzo—about fifteen miles north of Rosario—from twenty to thirty thousand dollars, in order to establish themselves at a place called Calchines in the Gran Chaco, where a church is already built, and where they might exert their spiritual influence amongst the Indians. San Lorenzo is a very spacious building, capable of holding from five to six hundred residents; and there are only ten to twelve Franciscans occupying it. But the National Minister of Education at Buenos Ayres wrote to Oroño, at request of the President, to inquire about it in a very condemnatory tone, and the *vis ecclesiasticus* rose up in such a tumult, that it was rejected.

The Governor of Santa Fé, likewise and in the same session (on 4th October, 1867), introduced a bill to authorize the collection of a poll-tax (annual) of 75 cents—about three shillings—per head, from all

inhabitants of the province, over fourteen years of age, to form an educational fund. A little previous to this, or on the 16th September of same year, a measure had been introduced to declare education in the province to be obligatory, to be dispensed gratuitously, and to be defrayed by Government subsidies, as well as by private subscriptions. To collect these latter as a foundation fund, commissions were appointed in several districts where no municipalities existed. The Government allowance to these was to be limited to form an aggregate of 500 patacoons (or 120*l.*) for building of each school.

Another law of June 7th, 1866, rendered it obligatory to have a school in every district where ten pupils could be brought together, and compulsory on all children under twelve years of age to attend them. The expenses of these were to be paid out of the revenue of passports, sheep-marks, and so forth. On the 17th September, 1867, another law was proposed for the establishment of a model school in the capital of Santa Fé, with salaries to a director, professors, and other corollaries of the staff.

On the 14th October, 1867, a decree was introduced to the provincial legislature to sanction the outlay of 5625 hard dollars (1400*l.*) for the erection of a church, and the foundation of two schools—one for boys, and the other for girls—at a place called Sauce, near Pavon.

From all parts of the republic came in congratulations to Oroño's liberal tendencies for the most famous law of his gubernatorial reign—the Civil Marriage

Bill, which was sanctioned by Provincial Congress on 26th September, 1867. This not only legalized the civil contract of marriage to be registered before the Judge of First Instance, or in his place, the President of Municipality; but, as in France, rendered such a registration imperative, in a legal point of view, before the celebration of the ceremony by the priest. Against this bill, and all who had to do with its concoction or becoming law, the Bishop of the diocese launched the thunder of his excommunication, but it became law, nevertheless.

About a week previous to this, an edict was passed, which transferred the management of cemeteries from the clergy to the municipalities. This was said to have resulted from the priests having refused the rites of religion as well as sepulture in consecrated ground to some freemasons, although they were Roman Catholics, who died in Santa Fé and Paraná.

Meanwhile, with laws for civil matrimony, laws for colonies, immigration, and education—with putting padres into prison for opposing the first, and allowing the others to remain in the archives as so much registered dead paper,—no steps were taken either in Buenos Ayres or Santa Fé to punish the assassins of foreigners, or to obviate the recurrence of such barbarities in the future. In the go-ahead province of Santa Fé, we find that the land, which was to be handed over to the contractors of the Centro-Argentine Railway, according to terms of agreement, as the railway proceeded, had not been ceded to the extent of a single vara (yard) at the end of three years after the

beginning of the works, and for six months after the line was not only finished, but plying daily to Villa Nueva in the province of Cordoba.

If we ask any Argentine official, when is the *Mañana* to be here, on which these things are to be done, no doubt the answer is, *Quien sabe?* ("Who knows?")

## CHAPTER XIII.

To Lujan—Santa Rosa—Voi a Chili—Railway from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso—Rivers in the Lujan District—Origin of Title of Lujan—Pretty Town—Story of the Miraculous Image of the Virgin—Statues—Coming from Rio—Refusal to go farther than Lujan—How the Angolese Youth, Manuel, watched over it—Of its changing Locale, and disappearing in the Night—The Curé goes to search for it—New Site, patronized by Bishop of Diocese—Don Cristobal de la Mancha Velasco—Advantages and Conveniences of the New Site—How the Statue was guarded by a Widow, and tended by the faithful Manuel.

SANTA ROSA\* was tuning up, as I started from the Parque station of the Western Railroad in Buenos Ayres for a trip to Lujan. Whilst waiting on the platform for the train to be ready, I cast my eyes forward, and saw that the locomotive which was to take us in tow was named the “Voi a Chili,” *i. e.* “I am going to Chili.” So, as the bell rang, and I got into the carriage, I said to myself:—“Yes, you are *going* to Chili, as everything in South America is always “*going to be done!*” *Che speranza!* The

\* Santa Rosa de Lima was born of very humble parents near the convent of Santo Domingo, in Lima, the capital of Peru, on the 12th of April, 1586. Her life was a most exemplary one, as well as of great suffering. She died on the 24th of August, 1617, and was canonized at Rome on the 12th of April, 1668, by Pope Clement X. She was constituted the Patron Saint of all America, the Philippine and Indian Islands. She is accredited to have considerable influence with the equinoctial gales that generally come on at or about her anniversary, the 30th of August. The Santa Rosa winds often do serious damage to the shipping at Buenos Ayres. An interesting account of her religious life is given in the complete works of Francisco Bilbao (vol. i., p. 351), published at Buenos Ayres in 1866.

railroad from Buenos Ayres to Santiago, the capital of Chili, would be carried out by a direct line across the Pampas, and would be a magnificent thing if accomplished. But independent of the Andes to be traversed, the multitude of *Quien sabes* and *Mañañas* that such a project must encounter before it is even floated, will form a Pelion upon Ossa opposition to its realization for many years to come. That this opinion is not universally shared in Buenos Ayres appears from the fact of a project having been introduced this very week (first week of September, 1867,) to the Congress by a Senator Somebody for sanctioning the extension of the railroad by which I am now travelling to Santiago and Valparaiso.

Between the stations of Merlo and Moreno, on this route, we pass over the Conchas river, which is a formation from the confluence of Arroyo de Arias, La Chosè, and Arroyo de Durasño. The Conchas empties itself near the Tigre into the Lujan stream before the latter falls into La Plata.

Lujan river, town, and department, derive their nomenclature, as I have already said, from the fact of a Spanish captain of that name having been thrown from his horse into the river, near the site where the town now stands, and drowned.

It is a very pretty little place, this Lujan,—very clean, and, I am told, remarkably healthy. Perhaps its attractiveness may consist in there being a slope in the ground on which it is built, graduating from the railway-station to the river—a distance of about ten squares. The town is on the river's bank; and the latter is about five hundred yards from the principal

Plaza. Here we find the usual Liberty column, the usual Cabildo, or municipal house, and an unusually handsome chapel. This last is the "Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady of the town of Lujan," with which are connected several miraculous legends, of which I shall proceed to give account.

In the year 1630, or thereabouts, when the kingdom of Portugal acknowledged peaceful allegiance to the crown of Spain, it appears that some Portuguese who had settled at Sumampa,\* in the province of Cordoba, were distressed by religious privations, in the fact of their being distant more than forty leagues from any place in which they could hear mass. They therefore determined to erect in the place a chapel, to be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. With this object in view, a letter was written to some friend in Brazil, requesting him to forward a statue of the Virgin, similar to that wherewith she is represented in the Immaculate Conception. Instead of one, two statues of the same kind were sent, in order to obviate the inconvenience of either being possibly broken on the way. Each was packed up in a separate case, so as to avoid their being injured by collision; for the images were made of terra-cotta, or some other friable material. Arrived in Buenos Ayres, they were put in a bullock-cart for the overland voyage, through Cordoba, to Sumampa. On the first day they came only to the estancia of Don Rosendo Oramas, five leagues farther on from Buenos Ayres than where

\* Sumampa is in the province of Santiago del Estero—not in Cordoba. —Vide Author's 'Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings,' Stanford: London, 1865. Chap. xviii., p. 152.

stands the present town of Lujan. Here the sacred packages were stopped for the night.

Early next morning the bullocks were yoked to the cart for the purpose of continuing the journey; but all their united pulling for a considerable time could not make the wheels go round. This created amazement amongst those standing by, and the surprise was increased when the light weight of the packages was known—the images not being more than a foot-and-a-half in height and of corresponding proportions. One of the cases was taken out, but it produced no effect, the wheels still remaining fixed. Then the other was put on the ground. Yet the cart was still immovable. After this the case that had been taken out first was again put in, the other was left on the ground, the bullocks urged on, and the wheels revolved with the greatest facility. Of course it was considered, as a divine manifestation, that this particular image was intended for Lujan. It was therefore left behind; and there it remains to the present day.

In a short time a chapel was built for its guardianship; whilst a negro boy of little more than eight years old, called Manuel, a native of Angola, of extraordinary candid and simple manners, was appointed to watch over and have lights burning before it. This he continued for many years—indeed till he arrived at a patriarchal age—with unfailing devotion; and during that time many wonderful cures were recorded of sick persons, who made a pilgrimage to the miraculous statue.

The death of Rosendo Oramas, on whose estancia stood the chapel of the Virgin, resulted in much



neglect to the image, as well as to the building, although Manuel never forsook either. It was he that looked after their cleaning and ornaments, as well as sought for candles to have always burning before the holy statue. So frequent were the miracles experienced by coming hither with faith, that pilgrims flocked to it in untold numbers from far and near. What turned out the great obstacle to their devotion, was the fact of no accommodation to be had in the neighbourhood. So to remedy this necessity, as well as to increase the devotion to the Virgin, a lady named Donna Ana de Matos, who was widow of the Serjeant-Major Don Marcos de Sequeyra, asked from the parochial curate of Buenos Ayres cathedral, Master Juan Oramas, (now heir to the estancia in which the Virgin chapel stood,) that he would allow it to be removed to her house, which was only four to five squares from where the existing sanctuary is situated.

The request was granted without much difficulty ; for the Master was under an impression, that the many visitors to the Virgin's image occasionally robbed the cattle from his estancia. On his consent being given, the widow gave him a present of more than 200 dollars. The holy statue was brought to her house, and put into a neatly furnished room, with the intention of soon building for it a chapel. But on the succeeding morning she found that the statue was not in the place where she had left it the previous night. The fact caused her no small uneasiness. Every room in the house was searched for the precious image, but in vain. Then she proceeded to the chapel of Oramas, and there in its former site stood the statue. She

brought it back a second time; and a second time it returned during the night, without any visible human intervention. The widow, being now disconsolate at the indisposition of the statue to remain with her, and moreover, afraid of some chastisement if she attempted to force it a third time, came to the conclusion to appeal for aid to the secular and ecclesiastical authority of Buenos Ayres. The fame of the image of our Lady of Lujan, through her many miracles, had been an engrossing subject of interest in that city. So that the widow's narration, as soon as told, was at once believed by the high authorities to whom she came for help. The Bishop of the diocese at the time, the illustrious Don Francisco Cristobal de la Mancha Velasco, and the Governor of the Province, Señor Don Andres de Robles, agreed to go in company, to make assurance of the new miracle, and to bring the image, with all holy appliances, to the residence of the widow Ana de Matos. For to this place the faithful of Buenos Ayres could, with much greater facility, make their pilgrimages, inasmuch as it was five leagues nearer to the capital than the former site. Many people of high rank accompanied the two dignitaries, whilst a large concourse of the *plebs* went by another road, all bound for the estancia of Oramas.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Solemn Procession at Re-installation of Statue — Erection of improvised Altar — First Chapter here in A.D. 1677 — Wonderful Cures of Persons who made Pilgrimages hither — The Chapel built by Don Juan Lesica in 1754 — Miraculous Discovery of Sand — Quantity of votive Offerings in Church at present Day — Strange Story about Benites — Treachery of the Authorities to him — French Sisters of Charity to be in Lujan — New Ireland hereabouts — Railway proposed by Julius Lacroze, C.E. — From Lujan to Salto — Its Advantages — Firewood in Lujan — Navarro and Mercedes — To Chivilcoy — Out by Southern Railway — Sheep-breeding Establishments — From Altamaron to Ranchos — Under the hospitable Roof of Dr. Gibbings — Across Camp to Jeppener Station — Estancias of Mr. Fair and Mr. Welchman — Latham's and Plowes's — Boca Railway and its Destination to Enseñada.

HAVING arrived at the place, mentioned in the end of last chapter, the multitude joined in solemn procession — all walking, and many in bare feet — bearing the holy image with them to the house of the widow Ana. As the distance was more than five Spanish leagues, they had to stop for the night at an old guard-house on the estancia of Don Pedro Rodriguez Flores, and at sunrise proceeded on their journey, with a company of soldiers, till they arrived at the dwelling of the widow. Here an altar was erected in an improvised house, to which the Bishop gave the faculty of having mass said in it. For the space of three days, solemn service was celebrated and chanted, accompanied with great rejoicings of the people in attendance.

From this time the statue never returned to the old chapel at the estancia of Oramas; and the fact was attributed to the decency and reverence with which the installation at the widow's place was carried

out. Manuel, the negro boy, came likewise to be its devoted sacristan, but he was obliged to defend himself against the suit of Oramas, who claimed him as a slave, and therefore part of his property. The faithful African, however, objected to recognize any proprietor, except the Virgin, to whose holy image he devoted his lifetime. After much litigation, the widow compromised the matter by handing over a hundred dollars to Oramas, as compensation for the loss of Manuel; so that he was again re-instated in his guardian duties. These were chiefly exercised, as from the beginning, in keeping the altar clean, securing that lights were constantly burning, and anointing, with the oil of the lamp, all those who came to seek the Virgin's intervention for the cure of their infirmities. Instances of the healing were almost incredible as to their number.

The first foundation of the church for the statue near the widow's place at Lujan, was begun in A.D. 1677, under the auspices of a Portuguese Carmelite friar, called Father Gabriel. The work progressed slowly until 1684, when another miracle, by the recovery of Rev. D. Pedro Montalvo, of Buenos Ayres, from an almost hopeless consumption, caused contributions to come in for the object of its completion. It was finished in 1685, when Don José Garros was Governor of Buenos Ayres, and when it was opened to the public, the statue having been placed in a niche expressly designed for it. Don Pedro, when dying, left in gratitude a legacy of 1400 dollars, to secure the annuity of 70 dollars to whomsoever might be the future chaplain here.

The sacred edifice, last mentioned, soon proved too

small to accommodate the daily increasing crowd of pilgrims, that were drawn hither by the many miracles. But the Bishop of Buenos Ayres in 1750, the illustrious Señor Don Juan de Arregui, of the order of Sant Francis, conceived the idea of a larger chapel, at the side of the old one. He, however, met some opposition from the existing chaplain, Don Antonio Larrazabal, whose ideas of the size of the new chapel to be required were not as enlarged as those of the Bishop. Consequently the building did not progress, and the part of the walls erected were falling to the ground, when there came to Lujan, in the year 1754, a Señor Don Juan Lesica, with his family, from Peru, and who proceeded hither in consequence of a vow he had made some years before, on account of having been saved from some severe infirmity, that had jeopardized his life. At first they were obliged to have lime brought down from Cordoba, and although up to that date sand had never been found nearer to Lujan than nine leagues distant, a negro (supposed to be the faithful Manuel) pointed out where there was plenty of it, quite near. So the mortar being obtained, the work went on, with the practical aid of Don José Carlos Vejarano. Building the chapel with the adjoining small oratory for the statue, occupied a little more than nine years; and on the 8th of December, 1763, the place was consecrated and opened with much pomp and solemnity, the statue being dressed with great care, and placed in the niche, which it occupies to this day.\*

\* I have translated the foregoing account from the Spanish of a little tract (no author's name), given to me by Dr. Juan Maria Gutierrez, Rector of the University in Buenos Ayres.

The quantity of gold and silver offerings, that have been made here—as shown to me at time of my visit by the curé, Don Juan Fargin—is something extraordinary. Crowns, crosses, hearts, chains, with figures of the precious metals in hundreds. The front of the grand altar in the chapel is literally paved with silver tokens of faith, that have been presented as votive gifts.

I have been informed by Mr. John Brown, of La Chosé estancia, about four leagues south of Lujan chapel, that in the year 1856, a remarkable incident took place here. A troupe of brigands, headed by a man named Benites, from Entre Rios, came to rob the chapel. In this they succeeded, taking away with them a lot of booty (chiefly money) early in the morning. The alarm being raised, they were pursued, and were all captured, wandering in different directions, and not able to see their way, from some mysterious cloud that obscured the sight. Benites himself was captured, whilst leaning against a corral, within view of the chapel, to which his horse had returned several times, as he confessed, without any power of his to guide it elsewhere. He was persuaded by the Alcaldes to give up his revolver on the faith of having a fair trial, and when he had done this, he was slaughtered on the spot.

In the town of Lujan there are three schools, supported by the municipality. Don Ambrosio Lesica of Buenos Ayres (of whose ancestor the last builder of the church, Don Juan Lesica, there is a portrait in the Sacristy) has recently made a present of a few squares of ground—eight to ten acres—to

the French Sisters of Charity for a religious establishment.

The country part of Lujan might be styled New Ireland, for we find here the best of Irish priests, Rev. Thomas Carolan, with Mr. John Brown of La Chosé, Mr. Peter Ham of the same district, Garrahan, Lynch, Renny, Murphy, and a host of others from "the Sod." All of these have sheep estancias; and there are few natives employed on their farms.

Lujan river rises somewhere near Mercedes, and thence takes a north-eastern course, passing into the La Plata by the mouth of the Tigre, close to San Fernando.

From Lujan a railway has been proposed in 1866, by Mr. Julius Lacroze, C.E., of Buenos Ayres, to be made N.W. to Salto, a distance of twenty-two leagues and a half. This would, of course, be a branch line, in connection with the Western, which now goes out to Chivilcoy. It was suggested by Mr. Lacroze to have one station of this new line at a place called Giles, and another at Carmen de Areco, with the expectation of hereafter passing on to Rosario. In this latter case it would probably go through Arrecifes, Pergamino, and San Nicholas, all of these being towns whose commercial importance would be very much increased by the undertaking. The figures made out by Mr. Lacroze clearly show what commercial advantage it would be to the inhabitants as well as to the nation, independent of celerity in locomotion. But I am afraid that "the opening to foreign immigration some of the most fertile lands in this province" is somewhat of a foregone conclusion,

so long as such prices are required for land as those prescribed by the law of 1866. In the Lujan department, as I believe elsewhere through Buenos Ayres province, there is no material for firewood except clippings from peach trees, and the thistle stalks, that grow to an enormous height and thickness. At the house of each estanciero you see an immense rick of them. They are cut down in May, at the beginning of winter, and as the sheep-shearing is done in October before the summer sets in, the thistles in their new growth cannot do much harm to the wool.

Land in Lujan has been sold this year (1867) for 700,000 paper dollars (6125*l.*) per league at a distance of only seven miles from the railway station, whilst other land has been bought at the rate of 1,600,000 paper dollars (14,000*l.*) per league so far as twelve miles from the same station at Lujan.

At a distance of about ten leagues from Lujan, towards the south-east, and nearly at right-angles between it and Mercedes, is the town of Navarro. In this neighbourhood there is a large permanent lake, which borders the pretty estancia house of Mrs. Norris. In the principal Plaza of Navarro a new chapel is being completed, and on the opposite to this is a National School. Nothing else strikes one's attention in this town of lugubrious squares, except that its population have a very Gaucho look of *insouciance*, that makes you feel very mopish whilst walking through its streets. There is a fine race-course here, at which meetings are held for two to three days in succession in the month of September every year.

To Mercedes — either from Navarro across the



camp, or from Lujan by rail—the country has the same billiard-table aspect. No trees are visible anywhere, except the few that have been planted about the dwellings. The neighbourhood of Mercedes is very prolific in quintas, held and cultivated by Italians, the majority of whom are from Genoa. Each quinta is bordered by a stout edge of cardon cactus. The squares in this town are only a hundred yards each side, but everything here is dreadfully square. Even the Liberty column in the Plaza is a quadrilateral, in the pillar, as well as pediment. The church in the Plaza is a very old-fashioned building, but not half so neat as that of Lujan. Some alto houses give this town a pretentious air, which is not justified by any thing of beauty in it, except a very handsome municipality school, about half a cuadra from the Plaza, that was erected in 1864. The department of Mercedes, as well as those of Navarro, Carmen de Areco, Salto, indeed all the northern portions of Buenos Ayres province, may be said to contain as much of the Hibernian element as that of Lujan.

Beyond Mercedes out west, the train goes to Chivilcoy, twenty leagues farther; the intermediate stations on this part of the line being Freire and Gorostiaga. This railway is now in the hands of the Government, is very well managed, and its fares are remarkably cheap.

By the Southern Railway from Buenos Ayres city, whose terminus is at the Plaza Constitucion, we can go through the same flat camps as elsewhere, by the stations of Barracas, and nine others intervening, to Chasocomos, which is a distance of seventy-five miles

from the capital. Along here we have some of the finest sheep and ram-breeding establishments in the republic — Mr. Harrat's, Latham's, Hannah's, and Plowes's. Except San Vincente, not far from the sixth station, which bears that name, there is no place at which the line touches worth calling a town, till we arrive at Chasocomos. From Altamirano, a journey of four leagues by diligencia brings us to Ranchos. This is more deserving of the title of a deserted village than anything else; its surroundings being a complete swamp in the rainy season. About half-a-mile to the railway side of Ranchos is the hospitable estancia of Dr. Gibbings, with its magnificent quinta of fruit and flower trees from all parts of the world. A little farther on towards the south is that of Mr. Fair; whilst many comfortable as well as prosperous estancias exist between this, and the south-eastern boundary of the River Plate. Across the camp from Dr. Gibbings, to the Jeppener station, we pass through the estate, with a very fine house, of Los Galpones, where Mr. and Mrs. Welchman reside. At whose residence, as well as at any of the others, the visitor, who is known, either by character or introduction, will receive a hearty welcome, and hospitable reception.

To the distance of a mile or so from that part of the Southern Railway between the town station and the Riachuelo, runs parallel with it the Boca and Barracas line. This is the first instalment of the Ensenada railroad, projected and guaranteed by Mr. Wheelwright.

The Ensenada line is recognized by every person

connected with Buenos Ayres, except the proprietors of flats or launches for discharging vessels, as the true key for opening the best natural harbour in this part of the world. Ensenada harbour is only twenty-eight miles distant by land, and thirty miles by river-course, from Buenos Ayres. But having treated of its advantageous position, as well as given the Admiralty chart of its survey in one of the Appendixes to my last work,\* it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

\* Vide 'Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings,' pp. 290 to 294. Stanford: London. 1865.

## CHAPTER XV.

Swiss Colony at the Baradero — Report of Don Luis Pineiro — Low State of Agriculture in 1855 — The Municipality aroused — Sending to Switzerland for Agriculturists — First Instalment of ten Families — Extent of Land granted to each Family — Conditions of Cession — Importance of Products — Export of Potatoes — Second Coming of Immigrants — Principle of Enfitéusis — Kindness of Municipality to new Comers — Slowness of Provincial Government in giving legal Titles — Inducements for more Immigrants — Topographical Area of the Colony — Individual Proofs of Success — Present Population — Class of Crops produced.

IN my last work on the Argentine Republic,\* I gave but a passing notice of the Baradero channel of the river Paraná. Yet here is situated a Swiss colony, which, although yet only in its infancy, has made very remarkable progress. From a report on its present state, compiled by Señor Don Luis Pineiro, it appears that "Agriculture was found in a very deplorable condition, indeed nearly extinguished at this part of Buenos Ayres province in 1855, when the Municipal commission of the Baradero district (at that time established only provisionally) felt convinced that the development of this industry is the vitality of small communities, and therefore occupied itself with much energy to further cultivation of the land. To carry this idea into practice a notification of the intentions held by the Municipality was forwarded to Switzerland, from whence in 1856 as soon as the

\* Vide 'Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings,' chap. vi., p. 47.

corporate body was established by law, came ten families of agricultural emigrants. In conformity with what had already been arranged by the Provisional Municipality, each family was presented with a grant of 200 yards in front and 300 in depth, say a little more than eleven acres, under conditions of occupying and cultivating, including the obligation to have a ditch with or without trees around each plot, and to leave a street of thirty yards wide between any one farm and its neighbour.

“These ten families were the originals of the flourishing Swiss colony, whose productions, within eight years after its foundation, are not only sufficient for its own and the adjacent populations, but form an important export, especially in potatoes, to the capital, Buenos Ayres, to Rosario, to Entre Rios, and to Monte Video. Soon after the first arrivals came eight other families, to whom were given plots of land similar to those bestowed on their predecessors. These likewise received, as far as the limited means of the Municipality would allow, loans of money; whilst the members of the Municipal body in their individual capacities lent them horses, oxen, cows, and cash. The colony being initiated under such favourable auspices, the Municipality then proposed to give lands to any future applicants on the principle of *enfiteusis* \* (or letting for rent), whilst affording all the protection in their power to labourers, chiefly in fur-

\* This is a term, the exact meaning of which it is difficult to convey to English readers. In Newman and Barret's Spanish Dictionary, *enfiteusis* is defined as “a species of alienation by which the use and usufruct are transferred, but not the whole right of property.”

nishing them with houses and food on the first days of their arrival. When the last-named got possession of their ground, the same aid was given as to the first comers, exempting them from all fees and rent till they should be able to pay these."

On the 7th of May, 1859, Señor Pineiro applied to the Provincial Government, mentioning the foregoing circumstances connected with the rise and progress of the colony, and solicited that the legal documents for the possession of their lands should be supplied to the holders. In a note of the 18th of said month, the Governor replied that he had sent a request to the Legislature to have this application complied with; but from that time to the appearance of Mr. Pineiro's report in 1865, no legislative confirmation of the demand had been received.

The Municipality, firm in its resolution to induce hither European immigration of an agricultural character, has sent to Europe reports, printed in different languages, describing the topographical position of the colony, the fertility of its soil, a detail of the productions of which it is capable, the area of land to be given to each family on "*enfiteusis*," the progress of the colonists already established, the favourable greeting that others are sure to meet with on their arrival, the conditions which they are expected to undertake of cultivating, tree-planting, and ditching round their plots; at the same time informing them of the small cost for which they can obtain proprietorship of the land, in accordance with the minimum value fixed by the 2nd article of the law, 5th October, 1858. This work was assisted by the colonists already here, who

lent their aid in transmitting the foregoing notices to their relatives and friends, stimulating them to come and participate in the benefits of the colony.

The land which is the public property of this settlement is a square league of nine square miles in extent, with another piece on the north-western side of about half a square league. This latter is where the original Swiss colony was begun. On both of these grounds, excepting the eighteen plots of 200 yards in front and 300 in depth, donated to the early settlers, 350 other plots, each of 200 yards in front and 200 in depth, with 200 quintas of 100 yards by 100, are held on enfiteusis. Between each lot, on its four sides, a public street has been left of twenty yards' width in the Quinta district, and thirty in the Chacras, according to the plan, drawn out in 1856, by Don Eduardo S. Urban, commissioned by the Provincial Government to survey the settlement. The unoccupied, and therefore uncultivated lots (of course independent of new streets), are set down as 452 chacras of 200 by 200 yards, and 63 quintas of 100 by 100 yards each.

Practical proof as to the prosperity of this colony is found in the present condition of its community. Some of these poor, but persevering people, on their arrival, had a little money, which they invested in cows, horses, bullocks, and fowls. For the first year, they lived in miserable mud ranchos, earning a subsistence by selling eggs and butter, and often having no meat to feed upon except flesh of the biscachas.\*

\* The biscacha is said by Mr. Hinchcliffe to resemble the Alpine marmot. Never having been in the Alps, I cannot say if the similitude be correct,

The earliest comers were French Swiss, but the greater number of those who arrived after 1858 were German Swiss. From Señor Pineiro's Report I shall extract a few examples of the success that has attended their efforts:—

John Tenoud, French Swiss, a farmer in his native land, and 49 years of age on his arrival here, with eleven in family, possesses now a capital of 300,000 paper dollars, the greater part of which is put to interest or invested in sheep.

James Cardmeaux, French Swiss, a farmer in his own country, 30 years of age on his arrival, with a family of six persons, has now a capital of 150,000 paper dollars, placed out at interest, as well as invested in sheep.

Amongst the second lot of eight families, came Claudio Jamer, a Frenchman, who had a small wine and flour store in France, 45 years old at the time of his arrival, with one grown-up son. He holds to-day a mill worked by mules, in which are invested 43,000 paper dollars, of his earnings here, and is completing the erection of a windmill, recently brought

but I know that it is not in any way like the marmots (the *Arctomys Marmotta*, DESM.; the *Arctomys Monax*, LINN.; or the *Arctomys Parryi*, RICH.), that I have seen delineated in works on Natural History. In some respects he is like the paca, or spotted cavy (*Calogemys sobriger*, DESM.), chiefly as regards the size, shape of head, two long incisors on each jaw, upper lip split, and long whiskers on its lips. But the biscacha differs from the paca in having ears and tail—the latter being longer than a rabbit's—and in his not taking to the water. The description of the Maryland marmot, or woodchuck (the *Arctomys Monax*, LINN.), in Gould's 'Naturalist's Library,' would answer for the biscacha, except that the latter is twice the size of a rabbit, does not block up his burrows in winter time, and is concealed all day—his time for devastating every class of herbage being at night.



by himself from France. This last-named mill cost 52,000 paper dollars. He has, moreover, two plots of farm ground, a house with one room and an azotea roof, and a two-roomed house, with straw roof. He is not now in possession of much money, as he has laid out all his gains on his mill erection; but he may be considered an independent man, inasmuch as he is perfectly free from debt.

Besides these, we find a list of German Swiss, many of whom were obliged to hire themselves out as labourers on their arrival, and who having come here only since 1858, may not be expected to have acquired much capital. But see what German perseverance is doing at the Baradero colony, as it is doing in every part of the world.

1. John Schar, German Swiss, a brickmaker in his own country, 38 years of age, self and wife being his all in family, exhausted his funds on reaching here, as did all these after mentioned. Has now a capital of 100,000 paper dollars, one half lent out at interest, and the other half invested in the house or in working animals.

2. Felix Schaer, German Swiss, day labourer in his own country, 28 years of age on arrival, with four in family. Has now a capital of 100,000 paper dollars, two-thirds at interest, with the remainder invested in working-tools and animals.

3. Nicholas Hergin, German Swiss, a butcher in his own country, 38 years of age on his arrival, his wife and self constituting his whole family. Is now in possession of 60,000 paper dollars, which he has invested in the same manner as the Schaers.

The names of Andrew Schaer, a boy only 19 years of age on his arrival, and now possessed of 20,000 paper dollars, with a house; of Ferdinand Scuchbawn, with 40,000 paper dollars; of Alexander Humbert, with 30,000; and José Maltig, with 50,000, prove what can be done by agriculturists in the Argentine Republic.

The whole colony contains 203 dwelling-houses, and allowing seven persons to each house, the ratio at which Argentine population is generally calculated, we have thus 1421 individuals in what a few years ago was a community of only ten families.

The chief produce which they raise may be enumerated as maize, wheat, barley, potatoes, beans, peas, and onions.

As in my former work\* I have described San Pedro, we shall ascend the river without stopping there, for it is only five leagues north of the Baradero. Then, passing by Obligado and Los Dos Hermanos, at the latter of which Don Diego Alviar has a large sheep-farm, with a very pretty estancia house, we shall have a look at the town of San Nicholas.

\* Op. cit., chap. viii., pp. 65 and 66.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Orthodox Name of San Nicholas — Derivation of Title — Historical Associations — Its Plaza and Market-place — College and Steam Flower-mill — Its Officials — High Price of Land — Smallness of Port Accommodations — Wages for Reapers — Produce of Corn Crops — Villa de Constitucion — Battle-field of Pavon — Reflections thereon — Phosphorescent Light, Cannon-balls, and Lance-heads — Sheep in Pavon — Enormous Increase in Five Years — Topographical Data about Pavon — Sheep-shearing here — Wages paid — Product and Price of Wool — From Pavon to Rosario — Through Wheat and Maize Plantations — Tortuosity of Roads — Biscacha Holes and Owl Sentinels — The Saladillo Bridge — The Mirage.

WHEN our steamer has her anchor dropped at San Nicholas, we are only fifteen leagues south of Rosario, and on the same side of the river Paraná. The orthodox name of the town is San Nicholas de los Arroyos;\* and this I believe is derived from the fact of three small rivers, the Arroyo Pavon, Arroyo del Medio, and Arroyo de Ramayo, discharging themselves into the Paraná in its vicinity.

There are few historical associations connected with San Nicholas, except of its having been on the 31st May, 1852, the seat of a convention between the governors of the different provinces to arrange the general administration of the republic under the federal system. This congress was called together by Brigadier-General Urquiza, who was then in the height of his glory, resulting from his defeat of Rosas

\* "San Nicholas of the rivulets."

at the battle of Caseros, on the 3rd of February, in the previous year.

The Liberty column in the Plaza Principal reminds one of the play of 'Hamlet' "with the part of Hamlet left out," as no statue is placed thereon. Indeed, on close examination, it appears quite an unfinished pillar, being about from twelve to fourteen feet high. On the southern side of the Plaza is the church, equally incomplete as the pillar; for although it is a very pretty edifice inside, its front is spoiled by four columns, that are built only half-way to the architrave of the roof. In summer time, as we have now (January, 1865), the two rows of Parais trees (between which we can perambulate the four sides of the square) meet overhead; for they are in full leaf, and form a very grateful shade, even in the hottest sun.

The market-place is very poor, and situated in close proximity to an old used-up windmill, in the lower room whereof we find the office of a Justice of Peace. There is also a theatre, which has been a long time unused, of whose inside arrangements I know nothing; but the outside walls are sadly in want of plaster and whitewash. However, there are two institutions in San Nicholas, shining out like "bright particular stars," in the midst of apathy and *inertiae*, that seem so prominent in this town.

One is the new college, under the presidency of an Italian gentleman, Don Leopoldo Grillo. It has two excellent school-rooms—both being lofty and well ventilated—that nearest the entrance portico being for boys, and the inside one for girls. The latter is under

the management of Señor Grillo's sister-in-law, who is a representative of the Buenos Ayres Beneficencia Society. The girls' school has 112 pupils, and the boys', 98.

The second is the steam flour-mill of Don Pedro Caranza, situated on the bank of the Paraná, a few hundred yards to the south of the town. This mill has an engine of twenty-five horse power, and four pairs of stones. With three of these last-mentioned they are able to grind eighty fanegas\* of wheat in twenty-four hours.

San Nicholas is reported to me to possess from 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants; but the number of unoccupied houses seen in the streets somewhat obliges me to doubt this. It has no Gefe Politico, nor Tribunal de Comercio; but it owns two Justices of Peace, one for the city and one for the country—the dignitary of the former being President of the Municipality. Its other officials are Receiver at the Custom House, Captain of the Port, Judge of Crime, Judge of the Civil, a chief of the National army, who is a Major, and thirty soldiers to guard the prison. It possesses likewise two police stations, each with a serjeant and fifteen men, and twenty of those howling nightingales or sleep-disturbers of the old-Charley class, miscalled "Serenos."

The price of land in and about San Nicholas is something apparently fabulous. For a small plot of

\* Here we have the fanega of Buenos Ayres, which with its 8 to 8½ arrobas of 25 lbs. each to every fanega, will amount to from 200 to 212 lbs. Whereas the wheat fanega of Santa Fé has 14 arrobas (of 25 lbs. each) and 8 lbs. in addition, thus making a total of 378 lbs. for the fanega.

land, on which to build a house, and not measuring more than twenty feet in breadth, with from twenty to twenty-five feet in length, the sum of 1500 paper dollars per yard is demanded. In a very out-of-the-way street, leading down to the mole, I saw a waste piece of ground, that had never been built upon, about twenty yards in length and from twelve to fifteen in depth, the owner of which, Don Benigno Oteyza, told me that he would require 2000 paper dollars per yard for its purchase.

At this town there is a very good port, with excellent anchorage. It has likewise a small half-dock, half-canal kind of basin, along which runs an artificial mole. But the water in this is too narrow, as well as too shallow, to admit inside anything but small boats and river craft.

In harvest time around San Nicholas, the reapers get from thirty to thirty-five paper dollars (4s. 6d. to 5s.) per day, with three meals of meat, plenty of Yerba for Maté, and two hours for Siesta. At the time of my visit I was rather doubtful that wheat could be a paying article, realizing as it did at the time only 120 paper dollars per fanega at San Nicholas. In this neighbourhood the comparative fertility of the soil may be imagined from the fact, that from one fanega of wheat the farmer has a produce of twenty-five to thirty fanegas; whilst from barley are obtained seventy to eighty for every fanega that is put in the ground.

About five leagues above San Nicholas is the "Puerto de las Piedras" (Port of Stones), at which a settlement, under the title of Villa Constitucion, was

founded by a private company, some eight or ten years ago. By the census of 1858 it contained only 397 inhabitants, and by my casual glance at it in 1866, it appeared to have much less. At the time of its commencement in 1857, each settler was allowed 2500 square yards of ground, on condition that he would erect a dwelling, with a wall and a hedge around his lot, and have these arranged within four months. Houses built in the Plaza, or the principal streets, marked out in the plan of the new town, were ordered to be constructed of brick and with azotea roofs. There is little or no trade doing here; so we mount a horse, and after a ride of three leagues across the country, or as it is styled here—"cutting camp"—we find ourselves on the battle-field of Pavon.

Battle-fields have been written and sung of—in plain prose as well as in epic—from the earliest times. Our school-boy days are associated with Homeric descriptions of the Siege of Troy, as with the battles of Alexander and Charles XII. Byron wrote in his 'Childe Harolde' some brilliant verses on the "nations' sepulchre"—the field of Waterloo, and the inimitable description of a battle-field given by Dickens in his 'Battle of Life' is not the least glowing of that author's many and beautiful sketches.

But our ride to Pavon is not made with any intention to chronicle incidents connected with the "pride and pomp" of "glorious war." On the battle-field here there is a heap of cannon-balls, to the amount of say twenty-five to thirty, and a number of lance-heads. When entering the estancia house of Don Domingo Palazio, at the Canada Rica, where the

thickest of the fight was carried on, we are told that at the distance of about 500 yards, where some of the slain are buried, can be seen on many a warm night a phosphorescent flame, which floats up and evaporates exactly like the blaze of a Kerosene lamp in process of being lighted. How many soldiers fought, how many killed or wounded, how the battle begun, progressed, and terminated, we can find no details of here; for the phosphorescent light, the cannon-balls, and the lance-heads are all that tell us of the 17th September, 1861, when General Mitre with the Buenos Ayreans routed General Urquiza with the Confederate Argentinians, paving the way for Buenos Ayres to be the capital, and Mitre himself to be President of the Argentine Republic.

Crossing the Arroyo Pavon, and going to the estancia house of Don Francisco Gastiatura, we learn some very interesting data about the sheep in this department. It will hardly be believed, that although at the battle time, five years ago, not more than from 60,000 to 70,000 sheep existed in the district, we have to-day (December, 1866) between 300,000 and 400,000. When it is remembered that sheep-farming on an extensive scale has been, within very few years, introduced to Santa Fé, this may be considered a fair proportion for a single district. No small number of these has been sent up from Buenos Ayres, chiefly owing to the over-crowding of stock in the limited sheep-runs of the latter province. The chief men in having these sheep transferred were Dr. Diego Alviar, Michael Hipwell, and Emilio Caranza. Dr. Alviar has several sheep estancias, besides the one at



Pavon and that already mentioned at Los Dos Hermanos.

Besides the sheep, Pavon contains from 120,000 to 150,000 cows, 600 to 800 bulls, and from 15,000 to 20,000 mares.

We learn the following topographical data about Pavon from Señor Don Julian de Bustinza, the land surveyor:—"Pavon is divided into four districts. 1. Pavon Abajo (Lower Pavon), being that which is separated from the Paraná river by the Villa Constitucion, and whereon the battle took place. 2. Central Southern Pavon. 3. Central Northern Pavon. 4. Pavon Arriba (Upper Pavon). The last-named is that portion which joins the wild camp, or Pampa. The four divisions put together extend inwards to the Pampas for about thirteen leagues, and comprise an area of from forty-five to fifty square leagues. The district of Villa Constitucion, adjacent to Puerto de las Piedras, stretches from the southern bank of the Arroyo Pavon to the northern of Arroyo del Medio, and occupies from two to three square leagues. The Arroyo del Sauce unites with the Arroyo Pavon at a distance of six leagues interior to the Paraná river."

Pavon, in many parts of it, presents a faint resemblance to Entre Rios, and the Banda Oriental, in the undulating character of its plains. But there are no Montes (groves), or indeed trees of any kind here, except those that have been planted at the estancia houses.

The time of our visit to Pavon was the sheep-shearing season, which occurs at the same time as in all other parts of the republic, namely, in October. It is quite a scene of animation, the hauling

in of sheep to the Galpons (tied as they are by the legs) to be shorn. The price paid for shearing is one Bolivian real ( $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ ) for every eight sheep, or two Bolivian dollars ( $6s. 2d.$  to  $6s. 4d.$ ) for each 100. Eight sheep generally give an arroba (25 lbs.) of wool, and this wool is worth from three to four dollars per arroba in the Rosario market.

From Pavon to Rosario by land is a distance of ten leagues, or thirty miles; and when a fresh pampero is blowing, is a very pleasant ride. In the greater number of the interior camps there is no such thing as a straight route, and it is a very strange peculiarity of the Argentine bullocks, who are the first pioneers in cutting out roads, with the heavy wheels of their large carretas, that they never walk in a direct line for twenty yards. The first two leagues of our journey, on the outskirts of Pavon, is through the chacras or small farms where wheat and maize are cultivated, and of which this district annually produces a large supply. The pay of reapers here in harvest time is just that which has been already told of San Nicholas vicinity.

There are four or five roads leading from Pavon to Rosario, but they all converge at the little bridge which crosses the river Saladillo, about a league south of the last-named city. One is the route by which travels the diligencia that plies between Rosario and San Nicholas, through the Villa Constitucion. This road passes through a small collection of huts, called Monte Flores, and styled so, I believe, on the *lucus a non lucendo* kind of nomenclature. Two leagues to the north of this Dr. Diego Alviar has another sheep-farm. The chief varieties on these roads are the biscacha holes,

at which during daytime, and in the glare of the strongest sun, owls are invariably watching as trusty sentinels.

When we cross the bridge at the Saladillo, the church towers of Rosario come into view, and skirting along by the matadero, or killing-place for the market, soon find ourselves comfortably quartered at one of the good hotels in Rosario.

In this ride, as in many over the Argentine territory, the eye is often deceived by the mirage, but its appearance on our plains breaks up the monotony of the level camp. A white house appears like a ship at sea; and the troops of cattle seem, in this refracted atmosphere, as if their doubles were walking in air. The mirage is very temporary in location, and its position is constantly changing.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Importance of General Mitre's Presidency — His Birth, Parentage, and Early Education — Forced Labour in Patagonia — Marriage in Monte Video — The Reign of Terror — Alliance between Rosas and Oribe — Immigration to Bolivia — Great Feat at Battle of Vitichy — Mitre's first Literary Attempts — From Bolivia to Peru and Chili — Return to Buenos Ayres — History of Belgrano — Mitre's Official Position after Return from Chili — Battle of Cepada — Convention at San José de Flores — Profound Fraternities — Revival of Differences — Battle of Pavon — Mitre's subsequent Career — The War with Paraguay — Personal Sketch of Mitre — Cause of Unpopularity and Indictment.

My first arrival in Rosario was on the 12th of December, 1861, succeeding the battle of Pavon in September of same year. At this period General Mitre was encamped with some thousand soldiers in position about a league to the north of the city; and as the events occurring during his Presidency of the Argentine Republic have been of highly important consequences to that part of the world, I deem the present an appropriate place for giving a brief memoir of his life.

The old axiom of some men being "born to greatness, whilst some have greatness thrust upon them," is in no way applicable to the fortunes of General Mitre. Sprung from respectable parents in the middle class of society, his present position has been earned for himself, partly with his pen, but chiefly with his sword. He was born in Buenos Ayres on the 26th of June, 1821, and is consequently now (1868) in the prime of life, at forty-seven years of age. His father, Ambrosio Mitre, although a native of Monte Video, was occasionally

in employment of the respective governments at either side of the Rio de la Plata, namely, the Uruguayan and Buenos Ayrean. Ambrosio was a man of considerable talent, and distinguished in his services as *Gefe Politico* of Bahia Blanca, during the time of the war between the Argentine Republic and Brazil, in 1828. General Mitre received his early education in Monte Video, and there he attained to the post of a captain in the army at the early age of seventeen years. In 1840 he was married in the last-named city to a daughter of General Don Nicholas Vedia. Mitre was compelled (in his young days) by Rosas, not only to work as a peon-gaicho in catching and training wild horses, but was also put to the labour of digging trenches in Patagones. This last-named period of his life was brought to mind when, on turning the first sod of the Centro-Argentine Railway at Rosario, in April, 1863, Doctor José Maria Zubiria offered to dig the spot of earth for him. He returned thanks, at the same time declining the proffered aid, and adding, with a smile, "You seem to forget how well I have been taught spade-work in my youth!" These remarks referred, of course, to his compulsory labours in Patagones.

In 1846, when Rosas held the reign of terror, several hundred families were obliged to leave Buenos Ayres for Brazil, or any country in which their lives might be spared, Mitre set out from Monte Video, in company with General Paunero, for Bolivia, with the intention of there establishing a military school, a project which he never realized. At this time, Rosas was trying, in conjunction with a chief named Oribe,

to stir up a revolution in the Banda Oriental, and the return of Mitre to Buenos Ayres during the dictatorship of the former was out of the question. In Bolivia Mitre and Paunero entered into the service of General Ballivian, then President of that republic, a man who was considered the Mæcenæ of his age in South America.

Mitre's first literary attempts of any consequence were commenced by his editing at La Paz in Bolivia a newspaper, entitled 'La Epoca' (The Epoch), issued from a printing office, the property of his friend and fellow exile, General Paunero, and which had previously belonged to Doctor Facundo Zubiria.

Towards the end of 1847, a revolution organized by Generals Agrado and Velasco to depose President Ballivian, broke out in Bolivia. Mitre at this time held no higher rank than that of lieutenant-colonel in the Bolivian army; but the battle of Vitichy, fought during the same year, was gained through the military ardour and aptitude displayed by him. One of his greatest feats was bringing the guns of the artillery corps which he commanded—some of them being dragged by his own hands—to the top of a lofty and rocky hill, whence he poured into the enemy's ranks a destructive fire, that completely turned the day in favour of the Government. In spite, however, of this victory, the revolutionary principle triumphed, as it unfortunately too often does in South American states, and President Ballivian was obliged to fly to Rio Janeiro, where he ended his days.

From Bolivia, Mitre and Paunero went together to Peru, and thence to Chile. In Valparaiso he conducted

a newspaper, entitled 'El Comercio.' Whilst residing there, he wrote and published a memoir on the French Revolution of 1848, which deposed Louis Philippe. Subsequent to this, he edited another journal, called 'El Progreso,' in Santiago de Chile.

After the fall of Rosas, Mitre returned to Buenos Ayres. He does not seem to have figured much in the events which succeeded the battle of Monte Caseros (where Rosas was defeated by Urquiza in February, 1852), until we find him coming before the world in 1859, as author of an excellent history of Belgrano.\* Mitre has also composed a considerable quantity of poetry, amongst which I have observed a translation of Longfellow's beautiful 'Psalm of Life.'

The rupture of friendly relations in 1859 between Buenos Ayres and the Argentine Confederation, brought on the battle of Cepada in October of same year; and the Buenos Ayreans under Mitre were conquered by the Argentines under Urquiza. In about a month after this, a treaty of peace was signed at San José de Flores. By this treaty the Government of the province of Buenos Ayres agreed to enter into the Confederation, on the terms that had been originally proposed by Urquiza at the Convention of San Nicholas in 1852, with the exception of some slight modifications; and all the elements of civil strife, that had existed during and since the time of Rosas, seemed now to be hushed. Mitre, at the epoch of Cepada, held the post of Minister in the Provincial Govern-

\* This is a biography of the famous General Belgrano, who, with San Martin, was a principal actor in the struggles for South American independence in 1810.

ment, with his military rank as General; and in the following May, 1860, he was appointed Provincial Governor of Buenos Ayres.

In October of the last-mentioned year, General Urquiza and Doctor Derqui—the latter being at the time President of the Argentine Confederation—visited Buenos Ayres, where they were well received. Shortly after the visit was returned by Mitre going, not only to the Capital at Paraná, but to Urquiza's private residence at San José, in the province of Entre Rios. In both of these places hospitalities were profusely dispensed, and the profoundest fraternities of patriotic re-union were pledged to be permanently ratified. Nevertheless May of 1861 brought new troubles, arising from a difference between the provincial authorities of Buenos Ayres, and the Confederate Government, on the election of Deputies to represent that province in the National Congress. The National Government declared the election which had just been held in Buenos Ayres to be illegal—therefore invalid—and ordered another to take place. Buenos Ayres not only refused compliance, but stopped the 100,000 silver dollars, that it had been sending to the National Treasury as a monthly subsidy for the appropriation of its own Customs revenue. Hence a *casus belli* was established, resulting in the battle of Pavon on the 17th of September, 1861, in which Mitre, with the Buenos Ayreans, came off victorious. In April of the following year, 1862, Mitre was nominated by all the provinces to be Provisional President of the Argentine Republic, with which Buenos Ayres was now incorporated; and in October



of the same year he was formally and unanimously voted into the post of Actual President.

From that time till the invasion of the Paraguayans into Argentine territory, the energies of General Mitre have been devoted in every way that was possible, to industrial progress, by fostering education, encouraging European immigration, river navigation, and railway enterprise.

The following sketch\* is graphic and life-like:—  
“General Mitre is a man of talent, a good politician, and one of the finest generals from Mexico to Cape Horn. He is negligent of dress, but of strict morals, and full of a sense of justice, whilst partaking of the character of a stoic, and brave beyond a parallel. Like Numa of old, he is very reserved, but affable to all who approach him. The Grecians would have banished him like Aristides, and he would have accepted his fate without a murmur. He has a childish faith in his lucky star, and sustains reverses with the utmost serenity. His countenance has neither movement nor expression, but resembles that of a statue, whilst the mind within is untiring and enterprising. He is sparing of words and flattery, but his heart is in the right place, and he never forgets a kindness or service done him. Upright and honest, he is little suited for the present age of deceit, treachery, swindling, falsehood, and other vices that are a passport to high position. He is, no doubt, destined one day to become a prey to the wolves that surround him. He is passionately attached to his family, his studies,

\* Taken from the ‘Buenos Ayres Standard,’ Dec. 13, 1866.

his country, and the cause of human freedom. With sword and pen, in the tented field and as a journalist, he has ever warmly espoused the cause of liberty, and progress, with all the faith of an apostle. During his administration of the last six years, the Argentine people have enjoyed the freest exercise of their rights. He is a good ruler, but would make a bad dictator."

Mitre became rather unpopular towards the end of his Presidency in 1868, and at the opening of Congress in this year articles of indictment were spoken of against him.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Argentine Custom-house Law—Average of its Duties—Cause of their Increase—Articles free from Duty—Its Liberality to Immigrants—Taxes, Provincial and Municipal—Direct, Indirect, and Miscellaneous—Various Classes of “Patentes”—Licences for Trades and Professions—Exemption of Doctors and Lawyers—Irrevocability of Payment—Varieties of Miscellaneous Taxes—Alcabala—Derecho de Piso—Bullock-cart Taxes in Export—Tax for Masked Balls and for Shooting-licences—Marks for Horses and Sheep—Passports—Port Charges at Rosario—Duty on Register for Loading—Quarantine Regulations—Light Dues—Pilotage Expenses.

THE Argentine Custom-house Law,\* which is a national one, and is in some degree modified by a new statute every year, may be considered as interesting chiefly to exporters and importers, who, therefore, might be regarded as *au fait* on all its provisions. The general average of its duties is 15 per cent. for imports and 5 per cent. for exports; but these are very frequently increased by a chapter for additional duties, consequent on the necessity for levying war-supplies.† Many articles, both of export and

\* The “ordinances” of this Custom-house Law amount to 1148 articles, that occupy 275 pages of the Minister’s Report.

† As an illustration of this I may give an extract from the Report of the Rosario Custom-house for 1865, published by the Government, and presented to National Congress by the Minister of Hacienda:—

IMPORTS.			Patacons.	Cs.
Ordinary Duties on Imports	..	..	391,891	80
Customs Rent and unloading	..	..	8,791	99
<i>Additional Import Duties</i>	..	..	65,314	31
			F. 465,998	10

EXPORTS.

import, pass through the Custom-house, free of any tariff. By the Law for 1867, the Executive power "is authorized to permit the free introduction of seeds, intended for agriculture, and likewise of any matters, that he may consider exclusively designed for public worship, or that may be needed by the clergy, or heads of confraternities, and as the property of their respective churches; of scientific instruments and utensils; of machinery for the analyzation or alloying of metals, or for the manufacture of new fabrics and industries; of the furniture and working-tools of immigrants, as of all other articles destined for the establishment of the last-named."

Besides the duties levied by this law, there are other taxes in our province of Santa Fé, the like of which exist in each of the fourteen provinces forming the Republic. As a knowledge of these may be useful to foreigners coming out here, I deem it expedient to submit a synopsis of them.

The taxes may be divided into the Provincial and Municipal. The former, it is scarcely necessary to explain, being the prerogative of the Provincial Government, and the latter of the Municipal Treasury, in such towns as possess a corporation,—like Rosario for example.

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EXPORTS.						Patacons.	Cs.
Ordinary Export Duties	..	..	..	..	..	22,742	87
<i>Additional ditto</i>	..	..	..	..	..	22,742	87
						<u>F. 45,485</u>	<u>74</u>

From these additional duties, caused by the war with Paraguay, it can hardly be wondered that the export of 1865 was 73,594 patacons less than that of 1864. The imports of 1865 exceeded those of 1864 by 20,241 patacons.

The Provincial Taxes are provided for under three classes, namely—Direct, Indirect, and Miscellaneous. The Direct are those levied on houses, lands, assessments, and are at the rate of two per thousand, according to valuation.

The Indirect comprise a great variety of articles, and are collected in the duties paid for "Patentes" ("Patents") according to the following six classes:—No. 1 pays 7 silver dollars\* for carts, carriages, and all wheeled locomotives, whether for private use or public traffic. Glaziers come under this class likewise.

Patents of the second class pay 14 dollars per annum for barbers' shops, earthenware establishments, tailors, watchmakers, smiths, gunmakers, master-carpenters, brickmakers, lance manufacturers, and for every workshop or manual industry open to the public.

In the third class of patents are paid 22 dollars, for licences to land and sea-brokers, agents of exchange, attorneys and arbitrators in the exercise of their profession, pedlars, and so-forth. Also for whatever trading traveller, or owner of ship, that transacts his business in the plazas or market-places of the province. For mills, worked by mules, for cock-pits, ball-alleys, drug and soft-good shops, public-houses, or stores for wholesale of imported goods, confectioneries, and coffee-houses. In the Patentes Law, which was repealed at the end of 1863, and under the class just referred to (the third) were included licences to doctors and lawyers. The law before us, sanctioned by Pro-

\* These are silver dollars, of sixteen to the gold ounce or doubloon—in fact, the legal patacons.

vincial Congress on the 12th of August, 1864, exempts these professions.

The fourth class of patents requires 34 dollars for land-surveyors exercising their occupations, for drug laboratories, candle-makers, land and sea agencies.

Patents of the fifth class must pay 45 dollars for bakeries, billiard-rooms (with one table), bowling-alleys, or nine-pins, or any houses of business, of whatever kind they be, established in the country, outside the boundaries of cities and towns in the province.

The sixth class has to pay 56 dollars for registries, wholesale houses of business, auctioneers, saladeros, tallow-chandlers, Barracas, and steam-mills.

By the eighth paragraph of this law it is provided, that "whoever trades in different industries or branches of commerce will have to pay the respective patents for each." Nevertheless, billiard houses that possess more than one table have to pay for every one, beyond the first, only 14 dollars.

It is provided in the ninth paragraph, that "the patents will be paid in three parts, on the first of every four months of the year, unless the person concerned wishes to pay the whole at one time. Those who do not pay at the periods indicated (namely, in the first of the month), will be fined in a third part of the quantity due for every month of delay; and in the succeeding four months' period, should the defalcation still continue, the patents and fines will be distrained."

The tenth paragraph ordains, that "once the

patent is paid it cannot be returned or diminished from any cause;" and the eleventh provides, that "when a new establishment is opened or begins to exercise any industry of those requiring patents, the whole of the four months' period in which it commences must be paid for."

This law, like that of the Custom-house, is to be revised annually, but it shall continue in force should circumstances not allow such a revision.

Amongst the *miscellaneous* taxes may be enumerated the ensuing. Buyers of country produce, as well as of cattle for butchers, and *saladeros*—these may be designated cattle brokers—pay half-a-dollar every three months for their licence. The owners of *saladeros* pay two reals \* per head for all cattle killed at their establishments. The *mataderos*—whereat animals are slaughtered for the markets—pay likewise two reals per head on cows and bullocks, and one real per head for sheep and pigs. Each loaded cart coming from the interior provinces to Rosario, has to pay what is styled a "Derecho de Piso" of one dollar, and for the loads, borne by every ten mules, is a like amount.

A loaded troop of carts leaving Rosario has to pay one dollar for 100 head of oxen, which draw the vehicles, and two dollars for any number, however great, beyond that. For every peon (*servant* or *employé*) accompanying the carts, one real is paid.

For waggons trading within the limits of the province, one real is paid for each load. Mules are

\* There are eight reals in a dollar, which is established at the previously mentioned ratio of sixteen to the ounce or doubloon.

charged individually one real each, for any commercial transit through this province.

The Municipal, or town taxes, are of two classes. First, the direct : a tax called "Alcabala," by which is levied two per cent. on sales of private houses, lands, or other property. This formerly belonged to the Provincial Government, but it has been handed over, provisionally, to the municipality of Rosario for the object of aiding in paving the streets.

THE SECOND, or indirect, are permanencies of the Municipality. Amongst these may be included a tax, which claims from each householder two reals per door, each month, for "Serenos" (night watchmen); two reals per door each month for "Alumbrado" (street lights); and two reals each house per month for "Limpieza Publica" (scavengering). This last does not, however, include sweeping the streets. It is confined simply to the carts of the Municipality going about, three times a week, from house to house, and taking away the inside sweepings, which are expected to be left in a box or basket outside each respective door.

For every masked ball a tax of ten dollars is levied, each individual mask being mulcted likewise in two reals. Common public balls pay one dollar. Every peon is obliged to hand in at the Policia the sum of four reals, or half-a-dollar, for a "Papeleta," or paper of licence for his calling. This is to be renewed each six months, or he can pay one dollar for a year. A mark for horses and cattle needs a consideration of a dollar and a half for two years; and the same for sheep six reals for a like period. At the expiration



of which time these have to be taken out, and paid for, again.

For passports are paid two reals each; and for shooting-licences two reals for one day, or four reals one month.

In Santa Fé city an export duty of one dollar is levied for each twelve fanegas of charcoal, containing nine arrobas of 25 lbs. each. Algaroba wood, exported from the same place, pays, likewise, a duty of one dollar for every six large pieces, and one dollar for fifty pieces of the size intended for fabricating wheel-spokes for carts.

I may add here, that in the customs revenue of this province the exports of native produce, that are free of duty, by far exceed the imports in the same category.

The port charges at Rosario are five dollars (20s.) for every vessel under 100 tons burden, and ten dollars for any vessel exceeding 100. Besides there are two reals (1s.) for stamp of passage of ship's articles, through the captain of the port's office, four reals (2s.) for a stamp in clearing out, and six reals for stamped duplicate of manifest of cargo.

To open register for loading there is a like charge to that on entering, namely, five dollars for a ship under 100 tons, and ten for one exceeding.

Vessels coming up to Rosario, or any port in the Paraná, have also to pay half-a-real (3d.) per ton register for the lights at Banco Ortiz, and Banco Chico, in front of Buenos Ayres.

Quarantine obstructions, miscalled regulations, may be said to exist at Rosario only in name, inasmuch as

during the several years that I have been resident there, no vessel was subjected to this ordeal, although some have arrived from Liverpool whilst cholera existed in that port.

The pilotage charges from Monte Video to Rosario are, for ships drawing under fifteen feet of water, from six to eight doubloons (or gold ounces), and for those drawing more than fifteen feet, eight to twelve doubloons.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Goods Traffic to Interior Provinces in 1862 and 1863 — Passenger Traffic by Diligencias — Statistics of Board of Trade — Table of Commerce of Rosario of 1863 — Falling off in Exports — Increase of Copper and Wool — Flour Trade — Increase of Wheat Export for 1864 — Large Trade between Rosario and the Provinces — Nucleus for Centro-Argentine Railway Profits — Speculation in Bullock Carts — Deficiency in Statistical Returns — Industry in the Provinces — Indigo in Tucuman — Petroleum in Jujuy — Silver and Gold Mines — Paralysis of these on account of the War — Facility and Cheapness of discharging Cargo at Rosario — Goods Traffic in 1866 and 1867.

BEFORE proceeding on our upward journey, we may devote a few pages to the existing condition of trade in Rosario.

In my Report for 1863, published with “Commercial Reports received at the Foreign Office from Her Majesty’s Consuls between July 1, 1863, and June 30, 1864,” I find this statement:—“The goods trade between Rosario and the interior provinces for the last two years shows the following result:—

STATEMENT of COMPARATIVE TRAFFIC between ROSARIO DE SANTA FÉ and INTERIOR PROVINCES during the Years 1862 and 1863.

Year.	Arrivals.			Departures.		
	Carts.	Mules.	Tons.	Carts.	Mules.	Tons.
1862	4,376	1,256	8,980	3,558	1,194	7,866
1863	4,186	3,250	8,494	4,050	3,127	8,400

<i>Aggregate, 1862.</i>				<i>Aggregate, 1863.</i>			
Exports	..	..	Tons. 8,960	Exports	..	..	Tons. 8,494
Imports	..	..	7,366	Imports	..	..	8,400
Total	..	..	16,326	Total	..	..	16,894
1862	..	..	Tons. 16,326				
1863	..	..	16,894				
Increase	..	..	568				

To these may be added the passenger and money traffic by the Diligencias (coaches), that ply to and from the provinces.

PASSENGERS TRAFFIC, with amount of SPECIE from the PROVINCES brought by Diligencias to ROSARIO for Exportation during the Year 1863.

Trips.		Passengers.		Money.		Amount in Pounds sterling.	
387	2,292	{		Ounces	.. .. 5,295	{	255,598
				Condores	.. .. 7,363		
				Marks, Silver	.. .. 7,240		
				Bs. As. Paper	.. .. 259,491		
				Bolivians	.. .. 670,242		
				Various	.. .. 514,832		
				Equal to	.. B.\$1,370,654		

From the same report it appears, that the Argentine Republic, on the whole, is advancing in its commercial relations with Great Britain, as may be ascertained from statistics issued by the Board of Trade, which give for the corresponding ten months, from 1st January to 31st October :—

In 1862 Exports from Great Britain to the Argentine Republic	.. .. .	£661,816
In 1863 Exports from Great Britain to the Argentine Republic	.. .. .	1,065,602

Thus showing an increase of more than half-a-million sterling in one year.

That Rosario had no little share in this increase may

## EXPORTS OF PRODUCE FROM ROSARIO DE SANTA FÉ, during the Year 1863.

Produce.	Number.	Cwt.	lbs.	Atrobas.	Fanegas.	Bolivian dols. value.	At 65s. per Oz.		
							£	s.	d.
Bones ..	..	..	618,875	..	..	3,069.33	463	0	0
Bone Ash ..	..	..	194,000	..	..	..	103	0	0
Horse Hair ..	..	..	648,320	..	..	95,185.54	14,277	0	0
Dry Ox and Cow Hides ..	213,147	..	..	..	..	612,912.00	91,936	0	0
Calfskins ..	87,689	..	..	..	..	3,657.40	548	0	0
Sheepskins ..	148,874	..	..	..	..	14,012.32	2,101	0	0
Copper ..	..	..	..	..	..	285,080.00	42,762	0	0
Flour ..	..	..	..	57,016	..	93,515.25	14,027	0	0
Wool, washed ..	..	..	..	73,205	..	674,942.78	101,241	0	0
„ unwashed or dirty ..	..	..	..	4,684,248	..	116,400.85	17,460	0	0
Raisins ..	..	..	..	1,028,013	..	54,414.24	8,162	0	0
Tallow ..	..	..	..	39,100	..	23,287.34	3,493	0	0
Tanned Hides ..	103,230	..	287,728	..	..	707,219.00	106,082	0	0
Corn ..	..	..	..	..	..	68,642.00	10,296	0	0
Shank Bones ..	..	..	..	..	..	1,417.40	212	0	0
Goat Skins ..	221,700	..	441,917	..	..	79,790.69	11,968	0	0

## REVENUE.

Stamped Paper ..	9,248 Bolivian dollars at 65s. per oz.	£	s.	d.
Import Duties ..	356,788	1,387	0	0
Export do. ..	171,872	58,518	0	0
		25,780	0	0

## REAL VALUE OF PRODUCE.

Imports		B. dollars.	
liable to Duty ..	1,848,068		
„ Duty Free ..	188,755		
		B. dollars.	
		2,036,843 at 65s. per oz. ..	
Exports		£305,526 0 0	
liable to Duty ..	1,718,719		
„ Duty Free ..	1,547,961		
„ payable in B. As. ..	184,830		
		3,451,531	517,729 0 0
Balance in favour of Exports ..	1,414,688		£212,203 0 0

be learned from part of the preceding Table, which I have arranged in a synopsis from the general account of the Custom-house Administrator here. The imports of 1862 realized a duty of 685,482 dollars; whereas those of 1863 nearly trebled that, being 1,848,088.

It must be borne in mind, that by far the greater part of this produce and merchandize is to and from Europe and North America.

The falling off in the gross sum of exports as compared with 1862 is 247,340 dollars, or about 37,101*l.* sterling.

Yet, with this we have the important fact, that the export trade of last year exceeds the import by 1,414,688 Bolivian dollars—say, 212,203 pounds sterling.

The decrease is chiefly marked in the article of dry hides (or cow and ox), which in 1862 numbered 365,893, as compared with only 213,147 in the past year.

Copper, from the mines in Catamarca, has had an increase from 11,096 cwt., or about 554 tons in 1862, to 14,254 cwt., or above 712 tons in 1863.

Without impugning the accuracy of the Custom-house Returns, I have it on good authority, that nearly 1000 tons of copper passed through Rosario during the past year.

The flour mentioned in the foregoing table,—I may here express my belief of this article being likely, at some future day, to become an important export from the Argentine Republic—is manufactured chiefly at Rosario, where we have three flour-mills—one a steam-mill in the town, the other two turned by

the water of the little river Saladillo, about a league to the south. Some of this flour is brought from the steam-mill of Monsieur Roques, of Cordoba, mentioned in my Report of last year. The tanned hides are from Tucuman, and the wheat is principally from the province of Santa Fé.

Wool in the last year shows an increase of 8500 arrobas over the previous year, the relative quantities being 219,981 arrobas for 1862, and 228,490 arrobas for 1863.

The larger portion of this augmentation may be credited to the province of Cordoba; the wool therefrom, on account of its superior quality, is coming to be highly appreciated in Europe. In 1856 Cordoba exported little more than 12,000 arrobas of wool; in 1863, its produce amounted to 36,000 arrobas; and I am informed by one of the first commercial gentlemen in Rosario, that it is likely to amount to from 56,000 to 60,000 arrobas in 1864.

I had arranged a table of the difference of exports in 1863 and 1864—those of the latter being given to me on a personal application to the Administrador of the Aduana. But when I saw, that there was the difference of a few millions of dollars, between that handed to me, and the one published in the Minister's Report to Congress, I laid it aside, and could feel no faith in either.

In the Custom-house return for 1864 there is a decrease in all the articles of export, except wheat, which gives in the last-mentioned year 43,036 fanegas (278,313 bushels), whilst we have only 8330 fanegas (53,870 bushels) in 1863.

Of the traffic to and from the provinces by mules and bullock-carts, I find it impossible to construct even an approximate statistical table for the year. I am informed by a gentleman, who lives alongside the road whereby they pass, that every day twenty bullock-carts (on an average) go by his residence, entering Rosario from the provinces. These containing from 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tons each, we have thus from 14,000 to 16,000 tons per annum coming from the interior, and as the imports generally counterbalance the exports, we thus find an annual existing trade, not far removed from 30,000 tons—a splendid nucleus for the Centro-Argentine Railway!

When it is remembered that the duties—the chief being *Derecho de Pisa*—payable by these bullock-carts are farmed out to a private individual, it may be understood how difficult is the procurement of a correct account, either from leaser or lessee. I have, however, learned, from a source on which I can place the greatest reliance, that in the month of November, of the year 1864, the traffic from Rosario to the inner provinces included 233 bullock-carts for Cordoba—each cart containing 180 arrobas, constituting, at 80 arrobas per ton, an amount of 524 tons 5 cwt.:—53 carts for Mendoza, each having 180 arrobas—119 tons 5 cwt. For Mendoza also went out 280 mules, every mule carrying 14 arrobas, or a total of 45 tons. To San Juan proceeded 573 mules, carrying 100 tons 5 cwt. Whilst to Santiago and Tucuman were 56 carts, with 200 arrobas in each, or in the lot 140 tons. Thus forming a sum total of 932 tons 15 cwt. of the imports for one month. And this, I have been assured, is under the average.



In the same month of November just mentioned fifty-three of these bullock-carts were sent to the province and city of Buenos Ayres for hire or sale. In the succeeding month of December, eighty were forwarded in the same direction on a similar speculation. These carts are fabricated, chiefly, in the provinces of Tucuman and Santiago del Estero—being sent down to Rosario, with or without cargo, from inwards, on the chance of a new freight. So that when this last-named does not turn up, they are then transmitted farther, on the chance of being marketable.

One great deficiency in the arrangement of official returns in the matter of exports hence—a deficiency which I do not in the slightest degree attribute to the authorities—is the impossibility of ascertaining to what parts of the world are sent the native products, which leave this in steamers and river craft for Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. A table drawn out by Señor Don J. A. Campas, who was “Gefe de la Oficina Estadística” in 1860 and 1861, gives the following:—

VALUE for NATIONS to which Exports are consigned in the first Quarter of 1861:—

Nation.		Bolivian Dollars.		English Money.		
				£	s	d.
Buenos Ayres	..	645,188	65	112,908	0	3½
Monte Video	..	61,215	51	10,712	14	3
England	..	21,257	57	3,720	2	2½
Sum total	..	727,661	73	127,340	16	8½

Now when it is known that during the said quarter, as well as the whole course of the year, American, Hamburg, French, Dutch, and Italian vessels took

cargo for their respective countries, it will at once appear, that such returns are rather problematical. Moreover, the nature of exports from Rosario, as copper, hides, wool, and so forth, clearly demonstrates that these articles are only *in transitu* to Buenos Ayres and Monte Video for Europe or elsewhere.

In the same report, to which I have already alluded, I mentioned that attention is being paid to industrial pursuits, as of the cultivation of indigo in Tucuman and Santiago—of the Quillay or Soap-tree in Rioja—of the finding of petroleum wells in Jujuy—and of the exploration of old, as well as newly discovered, gold and silver mines in Mendoza, San Juan, and Catamarca. All these have, however, been temporarily paralyzed by the war in which the Argentine Government finds itself involved against Paraguay.

During the last year (1865) vessels drawing from sixteen to seventeen feet of water have been discharged alongside the railway mole at Rosario. The average cost of this has been about 25 centavos (or ninepence) per ton for iron, and 7 centavos, or little beyond threepence per ton for coals. For the same expense, the iron in question was hoisted up a perpendicular bank of sixty feet.

Of the impetus given to the trade of Rosario by the works of that important undertaking, the Central Argentine Railway, we find an evidence in the fact, that in 1862, before these were commenced, only three British ships entered this port, whereas in 1866, there arrived, in connection with this railway alone, 52 vessels of a gross registered tonnage of 12,821 tons, having on board 20,382 tons of materials, including

rails, sleepers, iron for bridges, electric telegraph apparatus, coals, stores, and rolling stock.

From the Argentine National Revenue during the year 1866, was paid, under the heading of "Expenses of the Paraguayan war," a sum of 4,339,555 silver dollars and 48 centavos (or 885,623*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*).

Rosario is becoming daily more evident in its position as the second city in the Argentine Republic. Second, be it observed, to Buenos Ayres only in the number of population, wealth, revenue, commerce, and public buildings—but far before that capital in its topographical and geographical position, as in its hydrographical advantages.

## CHAPTER XX.

Land Laws of Santa Fé — Governor Oroño's first Proposal — Minimum Price of Land — Calculation per Acre — Prices subsequently suggested — Mode of Payment — Temporary Occupation of Land for Nothing — Oroño's liberal and intelligent Views — Law of 14th of September, 1864 — Difference from Oroño's Suggestions — Law of 27th of September, 1865 ; and 2nd of October, 1865 — Improvement in the Latter — Mode of obtaining Land by Denuncia — Peculiarities of Auction — Law of 27th of August, 1866 — Its Simplicity — Objects for Sale of Land by this Law — Concession for Centro-Argentine Railway — Provincial Sanction for Expropriation on the 6th of March, 1866 — National Decree for same, 3rd of August, 1866 — Sale of Land for this Intention — Average of Prices realized.

WHEN the last Governor of Santa Fé, his Excellency Señor Don Nicasio Oroño, was acting in the capacity of deputy a few years ago, he proposed a new Land Law for the consideration and approbation of the Provincial legislature.

This law was to provide authority to sell :—

1st. All waste lands.

2nd. Lands rented from Government.

3rd. Lands simply squatted on, or held over five years by parties, who have only solicited, but not effected, their purchase—providing that the rights of squatters be not infringed upon.

No lot was to be sold of greater dimensions than three leagues.

The sale of land to squatters was to be limited to that which they actually use or occupy.

One very important article of this law was the

following:—"The minimum price of land, situated between the Arroyo del Medio and the Carcarana, and within eight leagues of the right bank of the Paraná, in the department of Rosario, shall be 5000 dollars per square league."

Any schoolboy, knowing that a square league constitutes nine square miles, and that each square mile contains 640 square acres, can calculate this at the usual exchange of three shillings to the Bolivian dollar. In fact, without troubling the schoolboy or his master, I find, that at this valuation of 5000 dollars per square league of 36,000,000 square yards, and reckoning the exchange of Bolivian dollars at the present rate (Dec. 1865) of B. $\$$ 21 3 rls. to the doubloon—said doubloon being now value for 67*s.* in London—we have this square league of land to cost only 797*l.* 10*s.*, that is 88*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* per square mile, or only 2*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* per acre of 4848 square yards.

Another article proposed that land between the Carcarana and the Salado rivers, and within eight leagues of either of these streams, shall be valued at 3000 dollars per square league, and those beyond such limits, at 2500, if in the department of San Geronimo, and 2000 if in that of Santa Fé.

These prices had been subsequently suggested by the proposer of the law, Señor Oroño, to be lowered—those of 3000 dollars to 1500—those of 2500 to 1000—and the lands of 2000 to 600. So that much of this—over a great part of which I have travelled—the richest virgin soil, and in the balmiest of climates—should be bought in perpetuity at from fourpence to eightpence per acre.

This law further was to ordain, that the expenses of measuring the lands and getting out papers were to be paid, one-half by the purchaser, the other half by Government. The price was to be liquidated as follows:—One-third in cash at time of purchase, one-third in six months, and the remaining third in twelve months. Treasury bills, issued according to law, were to be received in payment of said lands.

By the same act it was to be permitted, that all lands lying to the north of the Salado river—inside of the frontier line, were to be ceded to whomsoever might think proper to settle on them, provided that the settler would introduce cattle or sheep to the value of 1000 dollars. Everyone, becoming owner of land, under this law, was to be obliged within six months to occupy the part he bought, as well as to make a rancho, dig a well, and construct a wooden corral.

With reference to the object, proposed by this code, Señor Oroño in a letter to the ‘Nacion Argentina,’ makes the ensuing very apposite remarks:—“The territorial extent of a country neither adds to its riches nor importance; but it is the number and condition of its inhabitants, which form the proper criterion of a country’s wealth and prosperity. For this reason there has been, during many years, a desire to people our waste lands; and to bring about this it is expedient to distribute them as much as possible, so as to have a numerous population of owners of the soil, as the basis of a sound, moral people. One of the greatest of all errors is to regard public lands as a sort of merchandize, to be sold at the highest price; when,

on the contrary, they should be disposed of at a mere nominal value, as the Government of a country should count more upon the revenue arising from agricultural industry, than a speculative price of waste territory."

That the Provincial Government did not reciprocate these sensible opinions appears probable, from the many modifications which Señor Oroño's proposals received, when they were passed into actual law on the 14th Sept., 1864. The chief changes were in the higher price decreed for land to be sold, than that intended to be put forth by Oroño. It also differed from the last named by prescribing, that the purchase money should be paid down in thirty days after sale, and the title-deeds were not to be given until the cash was forthcoming. Moreover, if these terms were not complied with, the land could be put up again for auction after the expiration of the thirty days.

Another difference was, that whereas Oroño proposed to cede lands as a gift to persons, wishing to occupy them in the Gran Chaco, this law granted said lands for the term of six years, on condition of laying out 400 Bolivian dollars per league; as if anyone, with or without the brains of a donkey, would spend his money and energy in improving land in the Chaco, under the condition of giving up said land at the very time that it would likely become profitable. The legal right to a third of such land, so occupied, at the term of six years, when it was to be sold by auction, has to my thinking, too much of the air of circumlocution about it.

In September of the following year (1865) when Oroño was holding the post of Governor, another law was passed, the first article of which rendered it indispensable for future purchasers of fiscal or Government lands, that the buyers should occupy them in one year after their purchase. The conditions of occupation in each estancia were to be the erection of an azotea house, with outlay of capital, at the rate of 1000 dollars per square league—the money to be invested in cattle or any other kind of industry. This was striking a blow at the system of speculators, buying up large tracts of land, and never occupying an inch of the same. To this class of monopolists, however, Señor Oroño's sentiments, before quoted, are evidently directed. Another provision in this law was to the effect, that "the sales of Government lands that up to the passing of this act, shall be accomplished without the formula prescribed by law for their validity, shall be held valid on their owners, paying at the rate of 25 dollars annually per square league, during the time of their non-occupation, in conformity with articles Nos. 2 and 3 of this law." The last paragraph implies a registration of the title-deeds.

Whether it was, that the prices laid down in the law of 14th Sept., 1864, were considered by the public to be too high, or that the Provincial creditors were rather pressing, it appears that another law was sanctioned by the Chambers, on the 2nd of October, 1865, which authorized the Government of the province to recognize a debt to the amount of \$28,190. 13c.—said amount being value of credit accepted by the Audit Commissioners. To liquidate this debt, the



Executive power was authorized to issue the sum expressed in Treasury bank-notes, that were to bear an interest of six per cent. to the period of their amortization, and that were to be received in full payment (*integramente*) for the purchase of fiscal or Government lands.

All the prices, laid down by previous laws, were lowered in this. The Government lands in the Rosario district, and within distance of eight leagues from the Paraná, were to be offered for 3000 dollars per league. Those outside of this limit, and facing the rivers Carcarana, Arroyo del Medio, and Pavon, were to be set up at 2000 dollars per league. Lands in the same department, and not comprised in either of the foregoing lots, were to have a set-up price, for bidding at auction, of 1500 dollars per league.

In the department of Coronda, alias San Geronimo, for lands situated within a distance of eight leagues from the river Coronda, and four of the Carcarana, 2000 dollars per league.

For those in the same department, outside these limits, 1500 dollars per league.

In the department of Santa Fé city and San Jose were two divisions of land likewise, differing in price, according to their proximity to the Salado river, and the first-named city. One of these was to be 1400 dollars per league, and the other 800.

The mode of obtaining this land was as follows:—Whoever chooses a plot—they had been measured and laid out on plans by the Topographical Department—writes to the Governor a “Denuncia,” or claim for it. This Denuncia is handed over to the Topographical

and Exchequer officials, by whom it is advertised for a month; and at the same time there appears during said month, in the Government newspaper, announcement of the day of auction, with the name of the Denouncer, as well as the area and number of the lot. Auction day arrives, and the party claiming presents himself at the Accountant-General's (Contaduria General), making his bid at the minimum price, already mentioned as fixed down by the law. If there be a bid to the auctioneer of say 20 to 30 or 50 dollars, he has only to say that he claims it at the price bid by his opponent, not to bid higher himself; and so the auction goes on until the lot is knocked down either to the original Denouncer at the last figure bid against him, or to any opponent, in case he does not care to reclaim it.

The purchasers of these lands saved the expense of measuring, for they had already been surveyed at cost of Government, and likewise the Alcabala of two per cent. on all houses and lands, sold by private individuals. The charges of the auctioneer as of the title-deeds, made out by the public notary, were to be paid by the purchaser.

On the 27th August, 1866, another law was brought in, and passed, which sanctioned the Executive appropriating 100 leagues of land for Government purposes, within the actual lines of frontier. This is decidedly an improvement on all the previous laws. It laid down the prices and conditions of occupation, according to the laws of 27th September and 2nd of October, 1865, and guaranteed that no circumstances of quality of pasture, woods, or permanent watering-

places were to cause the sale of such land to exceed by 25 per cent. the minimum laid down in the afore-said laws.

The sales were to be for cash, paid in three equal parts, at the terms of three, six, and twelve months after purchase. The land was to be divided into lots of one league each ; no single person could buy more than three lots, say three superficial leagues, the expenses of measuring and land-marking to be paid by the purchaser in the same proportions and at the same periods as the purchase-money. A commission, composed of the Contador-General and two respectable inhabitants (these were Don Tiburcio Aldao and Dr. Tomas Puig), were chosen and approved by the Government to arrange about these land sales (Art. 4), and although a form of advertising by auction was prescribed (Art. 9), it was not carried out. The mode in which much of this land was purchased, particularly that in the department of San Geronimo, was according to the 11th Article of the law before us, which provides :—"The buyer having selected his camp, and acceded to the price and conditions, will receive from the commission a ticket of purchase, in which will be expressed the name of the buyer, the extent, position, limits, number of the lots of land, its price, the expense of measurement, and selling land-marks." This was a provisional title-deed, for with it the holder presented himself to the Treasury, where he had the option of paying in bills of exchange for the periods already mentioned, or ready money down, on which he was allowed a discount of twelve per cent.

The objects for which this land was to be sold were set forth, as:—1. To fill up the deficiency that exists in the provincial budget for 1867; 2. To pay interest and mortgage for that part of the national debt recognized by the province; 3. To hand over some money granted by Government to the Jesuit fathers; and 4, for payment of expenditure in public works.

The greater portion of land sold under these laws, and more especially that which has come into the possession of Englishmen, is situated in the department of Coronda, or San Geronimo, and ranges at a distance of from ten to fifty leagues north of the Centro-Argentine Railway.

By the concession of the National Government (16th March, 1863), to the Centro-Argentine Railway Company, it was ceded by Art. 12:—"Government grants the company in full property one league of land on each side of the line for its whole length, beginning at a distance of four leagues from the stations of Rosario and Cordoba, and at one league from the towns of Frayle Muerte and Villa Nueva, through which it passes." Now as all the land along this line is private property, it needed that indemnity should be given to the owners for their territory handed over to the railway. Consequently an expropriation bill, a law for legalizing the transfer of lands from Provincial to National Government, said lands to be sold for equivalent to those persons, through whose property railways or other such works are to pass, received the sanction of National Congress on 3rd August, 1866. One of its most important provisions is Art. 15,

which declares, "The value of the property will be taken at what it would have been, if no public work had been undertaken, or even the commission for it decreed."

The Provincial Government had, on the previous 6th of March, 1866, authorized the executive power to place at the disposition of the National Government, as much of the Government or fiscal land as would suffice for compensation by its sale, of the lands ceded to the Centro-Argentine Railway, through Mr. Wheelwright.

The land in this case was nearly all situated in the department of Coronda, comprised a total of 183½ leagues, and was sold by public auction at Rosario on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd December, 1866, in lots of from two-and-a-half to four superficial leagues, at an average of 18,000 dollars per league.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Colonization and Immigration — Immense Territory of Argentine Republic — System of Colonization hitherto carried out — Colonies already formed — Projects *in nubibus* — The Etchegaray Concession — Its Extent and Position — Capital of Company — Programme of Operations — Liberty of Religious Worship — Liquidation — Common-sense Objections — “Joint Stock Argentine Crédit Mobilier and Patagonia Colonization Company” — Colossal Extent of its proposed Operations — *Imperium in Imperio* — “General Emigration and Credit Company” — A financial *non est inventus* — Luis Bamberger and Co.’s Colonization — “Argentine Land and Emigration Company, Limited” — Messrs. Wilchen and Vernet’s Project — Its Details.

COMING to consider the important matters of colonization and immigration, we have before us the following facts:—

FIRST. That the immense territory of the Argentine Republic comprises an area of 720,000 square miles, or in better defined agricultural measurement, 460,000,000 and 800,000 acres.

SECOND. That although much of this is the purest virgin soil, and in the healthiest of climates, its total population does not equal that of London.

The system of colonization—carried out by contracts made between individuals, or companies, and the Government—has been hitherto the general plan adopted, to induce immigrants out from Europe. Amongst the colonies so formed are those of La Paz, near Colonia, in the Uruguayan Republic; the Welsh colony of Chuput, near Patagonia; the Swiss colony

of the Buradero in Buenos Ayres, whereof I have already written\*—the San Jose and Villa Urquiza colonies in Entre Rios—the Esperanza, San Carlos, and San Geronimo in Santa Fé†—the Helvetia colony in Santa Fé likewise—and the settlement of Californians in the Gran Chaco, opposite La Paz in Corrientes. The last named has been organized, and founded by Mr. Perkins.

The projects of colonization which are still *in nubibus* by far exceed the number of those in practical operation. Indeed so many have been the former during the last five years, that it would require a separate volume to treat of them all. Therefore I shall explain the principles, on which the most important have been ushered into the world.

One of the largest was the scheme of Mr. Edward J. Etchegaray, who proposed to buy from the Government of Cordoba, the extent of 1000 leagues, or 10,400 square miles, and to form a company with a capital of 250,000*l.* in 10,000 shares of 25*l.* each, for the purpose of sending out families from Europe. The capital to be paid up in seven years.

The position, in which this proposed colony was to be situated, is between the 33rd and 34th degree of south latitude—bounded on the north by the Rio Cuarto, and on the south by the Rio Quinto; two rivers which, though not navigable, can be made so by canalization; whilst their great volume of water

\* Vide chap. xvi., p. 126.

† Of these three colonies an excellent and truthful description has been written by Mr. William Perkins, of Rosario, and published at the office of the 'Ferro Carsil' newspaper in that city.

affords immense advantages for agricultural irrigation. The southern extremity of the great Cordovian chain of mountains gradually subsides into undulating hills, and renders the northern section exceedingly picturesque. The southern part of the proposed colony presents an immense plain bordered by clustering clumps of wood on the banks of the Rio Quinto.

The following was the programme of operations:—

“To establish ten colonies of 200 families each, the settlement of which will commence on the points most accessible from the city of Rosario; their successive establishments being continued on the banks of the Rio Quinto, and an interval of ten square leagues left between each colony.

“This arrangement, which establishes the colonies at a proportional distance from each other, is made for an object of the highest importance for the results of the enterprise, as we will shortly demonstrate.

“THE COLONISTS.—1. The colonists to be selected by the company, in these countries which they may think desirable, as in Ireland, Germany, the South of France, Italy, or Spain.

“2. The company to give to each family of colonists the maximum extent of land, which the Government of Buenos Ayres grants to families, brought out at the cost of private individuals, namely 20 square cuadras or 83 square acres per family, the proprietorial right in which will only be acquired *after a six years' residence on the land.*\*

“Having 2000 families to establish, at the rate of 20 cuadras per family, the company would only

\* These words are put in italics by the author of this book.



employ 25 square leagues in concession to the colonists;\* 975 leagues will, therefore, remain to the proprietary, which would be developed and utilized, as we will hereafter show under the head 'Resources of the Company.'

"3. The company to advance to all the colonists the necessary costs of passage and of settlement, and to maintain the colonists during the first year after their establishment.

"The colonists, on their part, to engage to reimburse the company, *three years after their settlement*, the sums advanced to them for their passage, establishment, and maintenance, *with interest at the rate of ten per cent. per annum.*"

Like all the other colonies already established in the Argentine Republic, free exercise of religious worship is allowed, and of every class of industry, in conformity with the laws of the country.

The general result of the company is summed up as follows:—

#### "LIQUIDATION.

"*General Result of the Enterprise up to 31st December,*  
"1876.

"The result of the enterprise is demonstrated in the three preceding Tables; we have now, therefore, only to present it in figures in such a way as to render it more easily manifest.

\* The square league, of which we speak, is equivalent to 10 2·5 square English miles, or 6672 square acres. It also contains 1600 square cuadras of 150 yards each.

<i>Dr.</i>	LAND SPECULATION.	<i>Cr.</i>	
Dec. 31, 1876:—	£	Dec. 31, 1876:—	£
Disbursements of the company up to period of liquidation, with successive interests paid to the shareholders ..	363,300	Capital received from the shareholders .. ..	250,000
Capital to be repaid to the shareholders ..	250,000	Received from the colonists. [Table A.] ..	271,385
Nett profit .. ..	1,608,317	Received from letting of lands. [Table B.] ..	1,700,232
	<u>£2,221,617</u>		<u>£2,221,617</u>

“It results from the above Table, that the company would have a clear profit of 1,608,317*l.*, and would remain proprietors of 975 square leagues, which ought not to be estimated at a less value than those of Buenos Ayres, that is to say, at 6000*l.* per square league, and would represent for the company a capital of 5,850,000*l.*”

In a common-sense point of view, there appear to me some difficulties, connected with the realization of this project. They are simply:—

1. The distance of the site from any centre of population, and the difficulty of locomotion across the Pampas, that intervene between it and the Centro-Argentine Railway, would prevent its agricultural produce from being a paying article.

2. It appears rather problematical, that emigrants will be satisfied to pay the expenses of their passage out in three years after they arrive, whilst they are not to get the titles of their land for six years, subsequent to the aforesaid obligatory payment.

Next in colossal magnitude to the foregoing—if indeed not surpassing it—was a project of Messrs. Juan

Cruz Ocampo and Brie de Laustan, of Buenos Ayres. This was to get up a "Joint Stock Argentine Credit Mobilier and Patagonia Colonization Company," with a capital of one to four millions sterling. The company to have power to emit *lettres de gage*, guaranteed by the Government; and its object to colonize the immense territory between the southern frontier of Bueno Ayres and the Straits of Magellan. The plan, as put forth in a pamphlet of fifty pages, was to introduce a thousand families of five thousand persons within five years—and three thousand of fifteen thousand individuals, within the succeeding ten years. To colonize in the first place the country between the rivers Negro and Colorado, the Government was expected to cede to the company three-fourths of a square league (4800 acres), for each family introduced from any neighbouring or foreign country. With this likewise were to be introduced within the same five years before mentioned, eight hundred families (of two thousand persons) to settle south of the Rio Negro; and in the same ratio 22,000 families in the fifty succeeding years for the colonization of Patagonia proper. The Government ceding in this case one square league (6400 acres) in a site at the company's choice, for each family so settled.

These colonies were to be pastoral, not agricultural, and to each family was to be advanced by the company a sum of 400*l.* sterling, for passage money, sustenance during twelve months, and collateral expenses—a stock of 500 sheep, fifty cows, three mares, two horses, a waggon, seeds, and farming implements—the amount of said advances to be repaid

in yearly instalments, not exceeding  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and this was calculated to be more than covered by the wool from sheep.

Besides the solicitation of 30,000 square leagues of land, the company was to demand from the Government:—1st. Authority to govern the colony during sixty years, with a code approved by the Government. 2nd. Half the nett proceeds of import and export duties of the colony during said term. 3rd. Exemption of import duty on all instruments and animals introduced. 4th. Maintenance by Government of a proper military force. 5th. Permission to build docks, railways, schools, &c. 6th. Sanction for the company's statutes. 7th. Government guarantee for the *lettres de gage*.

The project was ordered to be handed over to the consideration of Congress, by Minister Rawson; but it appears extremely probable, that the *imperium in imperio* principle of the first proposition was sufficient to consign it to a *sine die* position, on the table of Congress.

Nearly at the same time that the foregoing appeared, was issued by M. Legout, of Buenos Ayres, the project of a "General Emigration and Credit Company." This was to colonize 3000 square leagues of land, lying between the rivers Colorado and Negro. The company was to introduce 20,000 European agricultural families, within five years, on condition of a cavalry force of 2000 men, under Colonel Machado, being placed for that period of time to defend the territory from the Indians. The figures of outlay and profit are, no doubt, as arithmetically correct in this

project as in all the others of its class ; but the capital of 3,000,000 sterling, on which this company was to be started, is as yet a financial *non est inventus*.

In one of the appendixes of my last work,\* I gave the details of a colonization plan, presented by Messrs. Luis Bamberger & Co., in the name, or on behalf of a Philanthropic Protection Society of German emigrants, under the immediate authority of one of the Governments of Germany. That was to bring out to the neighbourhood of Bahia Blanca, in the south of Buenos Ayres province, from two hundred to a thousand families of agriculturists per year, during a term of ten years. The proposed regulations of the scheme may be seen in the work before referred to. But the last article of the contract provides, that it shall be null and of no effect, if the company shall not have introduced, in the province of Buenos Ayres at least 200 families, within eighteen months after it shall have been signed by the Provincial Government of Buenos Ayres. The contract was ratified in March, 1863, and as no families have as yet been brought out (1867), we must suppose it to be null and of no effect.

Ascending the river Paraná to the northern part of Santa Fé, adjoining the Gran Chaco, I find that an "Argentine Land and Emigration Company (limited)" was endeavoured to be established a few years ago by some German banking-houses. It was reputed to be intended for the purpose of carrying out the conditions of a concession granted some time previously to a

\* 'Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings,' Appendix viii., p. 316. Stanford, London.

German house. The capital of the company was to be 500,000*l.*, and from Europe were to be sent out 10,000 families to form agricultural colonies, within the period of ten years from September 1, 1863.

The lands granted by the Government in this case were to include a territory of 300 square leagues, to be situated between the rivers Paraná and Salado del Norte, the exact locality to be fixed by the Government surveyor. Although none of these promised immigrants have as yet arrived (March, 1867), *quien sabe* when they may come, as the company has still six years of licence.

Whether the one which I have just mentioned has anything to do with Messrs. Wilchen and Vernet's project I cannot say; but I have before me the particulars of a contract entered into between these last-named gentlemen and the Provincial Government of Santa Fé, for the establishment in the neighbourhood of San Xavier (which is between the Paraná and Salado) of a colony for agricultural purposes and cattle breeding. The lands adjudicated by the Government for this colony are close to the Indian settlement of San Xavier, about ninety-five miles north-east from Santa Fé city, on the navigable river of San Xavier, which is accessible by channels, all the year round, to the river Paraná. The territory has thirty miles coast on the San Xavier river, and thirty miles inland; forming thus in one block, about 900 square miles, or 680,000 acres. Besides the river San Xavier, which forms the eastern boundary of the concession, there are two other rivers, the Saladillo and Saladillo Dulce, crossing the grant from north to south, and

running parallel with the San Xavier—the first-named at a distance of twenty-four miles, and the latter at a distance of fifteen to eighteen miles. There are besides innumerable rivulets, cañadas, and lagunas scattered over the camp. One inducement in favour of this undertaking, set forth by Messrs. Wilchen and Vernet, is the following:—"There are still the remains of two Jesuit settlements, known under the names of 'Cayasta Vieja,' and 'La Tapira de Martinez,' both situated in very fine and picturesque localities, which, of themselves, indicate that the land is of very superior quality. The holy fathers knew well where and how to select the best spots for their settlements."

According to terms of contract in this plan, 250 families were to have come out in the first year, and each family was to be presented with a lot of twenty squares, or about eighty-five acres, of land, free from any expense. In three years after settling down, they were to receive the title-deeds. To each family was to be delivered, on arrival, 200 sheep and fifteen milch cows, of which they were to take care for the period of three years. Said stock was the property of the company, but the care-taker of each lot was to receive during the period indicated, as his remuneration, one-third of the increase of cattle or sheep; one-third of the wool, and one-half of the butter and cheese. In case the settler should require more land than the amount donated, he was at liberty to buy or rent any quantity at an equitable price to be hereafter fixed by the company. For the first five years the colonists were to be free of taxes or imposts, and they were to be always exempt from military service. A doctor, a schoolmaster, and

a clergyman were to be appointed to the settlement, and each colonist was to pay 16 hard dollars (about 3*l.* 5*s.*) per year for the support of these. The emigrants were to secure their own passages from Europe to Buenos Ayres, or Rosario, and thence they were to be forwarded at the company's expense to their destination. For matters of furniture, seed for crops, and sustenance during the first year, the company was to advance money to the emigrants, on condition, of course, of being repaid at moderate interest.

The other provisions were unimportant; and although Mr. T. C. Ruding, late manager of the London and River Plate Bank at Monte Video, passed through Rosario a few years ago on his way to London, to organize the wherewithal of the project, it has not yet emerged from the embryo.



## CHAPTER XXII.

Perkins's new Map — Land denounced by a Company of North American Farmers — Government Township — Proposed Colony of El Rey — Its Extent and Position — Amount of Land for each Person — Style of Capital City — Limitation of Contract — Free Emigration and Gratuitous Concessions — Governor Oroño's Dispatch of June 11th, 1866 — His Opinions on Emigration and Private Contractors — Gratis Land Law of 26th of October, 1864 — The same of 27th of June, 1866 — Amount of Land to be donated — Conditions of Occupation — Law of 17th of August, 1866 — Another Colony on the Salado — Peculiar Privileges to first Occupiers — No Transference of Land allowed — Law of 23rd August, 1866 — "Sunchalez" and "Cayestita" — Other Laws of 1st of September, 1866 — Facts favourable to Colonization out here — Don Muriano Cobal's "Conquest of the Gran Chaco."

AN excellent map of that part of the province of Santa Fé, in which the last-mentioned colonization project (Wilchen and Vernet's) is situated, has been recently traced out by Mr. W. Perkins, of Rosario. On it we can find the settlement of Californians already alluded to, Wilchen and Vernet's 100 square leagues, and higher up thirty-six lots of 25,000,000 square varas each, which have been "denounced," as it is termed, by a company of North American farmers. Beyond this is a site of sixteen square leagues for a township, to be divided into lots, and given gratis to whomsoever may choose to occupy it; and farther on, we find another 100 square leagues for the colony of El Rey, conceded to Messrs. Mardoqueo Navarro, Alfred Richeson, and M. T. English. All these plots indi-

cated in this chapter, although inside the frontier line of Santa Fé province, may nevertheless be considered as forming part of the territory known as the Gran Chaco.

This project of Navarro and Company was to bring to the northern part of Santa Fé province, and to the position called "El Rey," where a river of the latter name forms a confluence with the Paraná, an agricultural colony, to consist of, at least, 2000 persons. According to the law of 19th October, 1864, one league of land in this grant is to be divided between twenty persons, so that, counting the league of land at 6400 acres, each man was to have 320 acres. A city was to be made in the colony of 200 square cuadras, with wide streets and abundance of plazas. The company was to give ample space for churches, public offices, and schools. It likewise compromised itself to introduce and establish 100 families in the term of two years from the date of signing the contract with the Government,\* and that, in case this was not done, the contract to be null and void. Like the others, the colonists were to be free of taxes for five years after their commencement. The conditions on which emigrants were to be placed in possession of this land, are not set forth by the contractors, for these, very probably, will depend on the condition of the land market.

The existing† Government of Santa Fé province,

\* The signing of this contract by the Governor and the other parties, bears date, Rosario, 16th November, 1865; and the final ratification, by the Minister, Campillo, 13th December, 1865.

† In 1866 and 1867.

under the governorship of Señor Don Nicasio Oroño, has in no way more forcibly demonstrated its liberal tendencies than in donatory concessions of land to encourage free emigration. In a dispatch of Governor Oroño's to Congress, dated June 11, 1866, he says:—"Experience has taught us the inconveniences of introducing to our country foreign families, brought out at the expense of private contractors. The latter invariably have with this business an excessive profit in the possession of contiguous lands, which, remaining unoccupied and uncultivated, serve only as objects of covetousness to the colonists. The same experience counsels us to abandon such a pernicious system, which is opposed to the increase of population, as to development of the riches of our camps, and to prefer the voluntary emigration, which would be less expensive to our treasury, and more conformable to the disposition of our institutions."

The Governor likewise observes, very truly, that men, who are brought into this country under such contracts as those before referred to, lose the condition of free men, inasmuch as the first and hardest years of their labour are done for the profit of those who send them out; and thus they are so pressed by anxieties, sometimes by bad crops, and always with obligation to pay their refundings, that instead of liking, they become disgusted with, the new place of their adoption. The advantages of this land, to gain possession of which they are flattered in Europe to leave their firesides, friends, and relations, soon become changed into features of discontent, when they find that they are working to make the fortune of the

leaser; and with this the value of the land is daily increasing, whilst they only receive a portion of its annual crop. On these accounts, the Governor proposes that certain locales in the province should be set aside for the purpose of offering free lots to those who would take them, and thus lay the foundation of a moral and industrious population.

In conformity with these suggestions, the Chambers sanctioned, on 27th June, 1866, a bill providing for spontaneous colonization in a position near San Xavier, between the concessions of Wilchen and Vernet, and that of Messrs. Navarro, Richeson, and Co. This is the Government township of sixteen square leagues alluded to in the first part of this chapter. The plan was to form small settlements, with houses, having fifty yards in front and fifty in depth, with four square cuerdas, or about twenty acres of land to be given gratuitously to each person. The remainder of the land not distributed in this manner, was to be divided into estancia lots of suertes, or 25,000,000 square yards, that were to be sold at the end of the first year, to those who would denounce them. But in no case could they be disposed of for less than 300 or over 400 patacoons per league (60% to 80% for 6400 acres). The produce of sale of these lands was ordered by the same law to be expended in paying the passages of voluntary emigrants from Buenos Ayres up to the settlement in question. But this outlay will have to be repaid by the fathers or heads of family, as soon as can be done, after their second year's crops. The Executive power was authorized to publish at expense of Treasury a pamphlet with map of the place in question.

Previous to this another similar law had been passed, no doubt at the suggestion of Oroño, on the 26th October, 1864, offering to any person, who would take it up, a cession for two colonies on the banks of the Salado del Norte—each colony to consist of 200 persons. In this case, the particular locale was not pointed out; and as the Salado flows through several hundred miles of the province of Santa Fé, the concession was somewhat mythical. The land to be ceded in this case was to be twenty square leagues—the no small trifle of 128,000 acres. The Impresario (or contractor with the Government) was to make arrangements for bringing out, and ceding land to, the immigrants, who were to occupy it; but no person of the occupiers was to get less—whatever more—than twenty acres. The Executive power was to select the point where said colonists were to be placed.

It was further provided, that in case the person, who took it up, did not complete the settlement of 200 individuals in six years from the date of signing the contract, this latter was to be of no effect. Although the fixing of a locale, and marking out a lot was to be at the expense of Government, still the contracting party was to bear cost of measurement, which latter, moreover, was not to be charged to the recipients of the lots, *i.e.* the immigrants.

On the 17th of August, 1866, or two months after Oroño's letter just alluded to, the Congress in Santa Fé sanctioned another law for the establishment of a colony on the west of the river Salado, at a distance of twelve leagues north of Esperanza, and contiguous to the Arroyo San Antonio. For this

settlement an area of twenty-two leagues was prescribed. It was for voluntary immigration, as the two preceding; and the land was to be partitioned into lots of 1500, 1000, and 500 yards of frontage to a league in depth; as well as to cottage lots of eighty acres.

The capital town of this colony was to be at the place called the "Soledad," where we spent our Christmas Day in the Gran Chaco, in 1863,\* and the concessions to families were to be made on the following liberal terms:—"To each one of the first twenty families that came out, there was a gift, without any drawback, of a piece of land 1500 yards frontage and ten miles in depth. To the twenty succeeding were to be given lots of 1000 yards in breadth and ten miles in depth, and to all who came after, each family was to have 500 yards in breadth with the same depth as the foregoing. In the last case the Executive power was to have authority to sell every alternate lot, at the price of 150 patacoons (say 38*l.* to 40*l.*) per lot; and this money was to be expended in matters calculated to advance the interests of the settlement. To all the settlers was to be given the right to cut wood for building purposes, and for the manufacture of charcoal. None of these to whom land had been ceded gratuitously could transfer it, until after a residence and occupation of three years. If an occupier wished to change residence from his holding to any other part of the colony, it was obligatory, that the person in charge of his land should be approved of by the administration, or authority appointed by the Government. The Government was to appoint an

\* Vide 'Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings,' chap. xv., p. 125.

Administrador, whose salary was to be paid out of the provincial Exchequer. As soon as thirty families were established, a church was to be built, one-half at the expense of the Government, the other half at that of the colonists; and the clergyman was to be supported at the cost of the latter. On the arrival of each family, they were to get a provisional title of proprietorship, which was to be replaced by a legal title of perpetuity of possession at the end of three years, and on the Administrador's certifying on the same, that the provisions of occupation, and *poblar*-ing had been complied with.

Six days after passing of the law just referred to (or on the 23rd of August, 1866), another somewhat similar was sanctioned for the establishment of settlers at the cantons (or barracks) of "Sunchales" and "Cayastita," bordering the Gran Chaco. In these cases titles of perpetuity were to be given to natives or foreigners, who would come and settle here. Twenty square leagues for each settlement, the barracks to be in the centre, and so placed that guided by compass points, it could be always communicated with. The lots were to be divided according to the uses to be made of the land; that is to say, if for cultivating corn, a plot of eighty acres was to be given; if for pastoral purposes, the lot was to be 2000 yards of front and ten miles in depth; and in the towns, a grant of a square cuadra, or about four acres of land to be attached to each house. Although foreigners as well as natives could settle here, a preference was given to those who had already established themselves at the points mentioned,—to those who had served in

the army of the frontier,—and to married people, whether they were native or foreign.

Succeeding this (on the 1st September in the same year), was passed another law, giving fourteen leagues of land to be divided amongst the chiefs and officials of the army, who were in actual service on the borders of the Pampas. The land in this case was situated south of the town of “San Jose de la Esquina,” on the south-western boundary of the province.

On the same day two other colonies for free emigration were marked out, and approved by Congress, in the passing of a law establishing their validity. These were to be in the department of Rosario, on the extreme south-east of the province, being entitled “3 de Febrero” and “9 de Julio” respectively. In all cases, the first occupiers, as well as those who served in the army on the frontier, were to have the preference in the matter of extent of lots conceded. The conditions of occupation,—the length of time necessary for this before obtaining titles,—the exemption of taxes for five years, resembled what we have already seen in the like projects.

One thing may be said in favour of all colonization plans in the Argentine Republic. In Europe, North America, Canada, and Australia, the farmer has to keep a large proportion of his crops to feed his animals through the winter months, whilst here the climate is so mild and healthy, that grass of the richest description is growing all the year round,—and much finer in winter than in summer months. Thus the farmer can sell his crop, with the exception, of course, of the quantity necessary for seed, and for household consumption.



Another remarkable land enterprise, initiated in 1866, is the conquest of the Gran Chaco by Señor Don Mariano Cabal, a rich capitalist from the Uruguayan Republic. By a law passed on the 26th June, 1866, the executive power was authorized to contract a loan of 60,000 patacoons for the purpose of forming an Expedition to the interior of the Gran Chaco, chiefly with the object, I believe, of extending the frontier lines of the province. To do this it will be necessary to beat back some of the Indians.

Señor Cabal offers this loan to Government on the condition that it (the Government) shall deliver him, at the lowest legal price, on payment of said loan, such pieces of camp as he may select outside of the actual frontier line, and which he undertakes to people in one year from the delivery of said lands, under the form and condition of the existing provincial laws.

Moreover he very sensibly says;—"There is no use in driving the Indian back, unless we can supply a population in his place to cultivate the desert;" and he inquires appropriately, "Of what use were it to dispossess the savage unless we have at the same time a hardy and industrious race to settle down and improve the land?"

Señor Cabal having been elected Governor of Santa Fé in this year (1868), is now in a position, of which no doubt he will avail himself, to realize these principles into assisting such an immigration.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Land Laws of Buenos Ayres Province — Price of Land here (according to De Azara) in 1796 and 1803 — First Land Law of Buenos Ayres, 1813 — Code of 1817 strengthened by that of 1819 — Title-deeds offered on sole Condition of Occupancy — Land Law of 1822 to raise a Loan in London — National Debt constituted in 1824 by a Guarantee on Land — Law of Enfitensis in 1826 — This Law modified in 1828 — With Provision that *Foreigners should be excluded* — Law of 1830, entitled Reparative — Decree of 1832, abolishing all those previously passed — Enfitensis System impaired by Laws of 1834 and 1835 — “Reign of Terror” from 1840 to 1852 — Last Land Law of 1866 — High Prices decreed by this — Land Laws of Entre Rios.

ACCORDING to De Azara, in his Diary of Travels to the frontier in 1796, the lands of Buenos Ayres were sold at the rate of 80 hard dollars (patacoons) for 30 to 40 square leagues; and in 1803 the square league could be bought for 20 hard dollars, or between 5*l.* and 6*l.* sterling.

The first land law of which we have a notice in Buenos Ayres province, as we are informed by Doctor Avellanada, was passed on May 15, 1813,—three years after the Declaration of Independence. Of its provisions I am ignorant.

In 1817 the Director of the State sought and obtained authority, from Congress, to sell proprietorships of land to those who would occupy it within the new frontier. The Congress in 1819 strengthened this authority, and extended it to the whole of the republic. In spite of the abuses, that were committed under this law, the occupation of the province advanced, and its

frontiers were carried into the Indian territory. In the same year Congress, at its closing, ordered title-deeds to be made out for those who occupied such lands, and offered to the holders the gratitude of the country.

In 1822 was passed a law authorizing the Provincial Government of Buenos Ayres to raise a loan in London on the guarantee of public lands. The Congress in 1824 constituted a National Debt of 15,000,000 paper dollars, to be secured on public lands, as well as the goods and chattels of the state. In 1826 the first law of enfiteusis was passed. By this was to be secured, to the occupier, the use and usufruct of soil for twenty years, on paying a fixed sum of 8 per cent. on the value of the land. The worth was to be ascertained from an annual inspection by five land proprietors. Against their judgment the only appeal was to another jury of like number, and of the same class. In the last-mentioned year was passed a law, which allowed any individual of the state, (*i.e.* native) to occupy whatever quantity of lands he desired, on the sole condition of stocking them with cattle.

But in 1828 the enfiteusis law of 1826 was so far revoked, that the term of occupation was cut down to ten years, and the rent reduced from 8 to 2 per cent. The Congress in 1829 passed a law to give grants of land on the frontier line, in the neighbourhood of Azul, but with the provision that *foreigners should be excluded!*

What was styled a reparative measure was a land law, passed in July, 1830. This re-established the right to the land gifts, which had been granted by

the Code of 1817, but which were, in part, abolished by Congress in 1826, inasmuch as this law decreed a permanent and effective occupation to be necessary for their proprietorial possession.

A decree was passed in November, 1832, which abolished all the privileges connected with the enfiteusis, established cases of defalcation in not complying with legal conditions, although the law could never substantiate such failures, and instituted an inquisitorial rigour into the payments of rent.

In 1834 and 1835 a blow was struck at the enfiteusis system, by assigning over seventy-seven leagues square of public lands to those, who had served under Rosas in his invasions against the Indians. Eight years after passing the law of 1828, comes a law, which shows very plainly the class of legislators under which the country existed, or rather dragged out life, at the time. This was the statute of 1836, which authorized the sale of 1500 leagues of land, that was then actually in the occupation of parties, who had taken it under the guarantee of enfiteusis, pursuant to provisions of law in 1826. The succeeding year, 1837, gave the finishing touch to the decree of 1832, for this prohibited the renewal of any enfiteusis contract, and ordered denuncias (public demands) to be made under direction of the Topographical Department. In 1838 the limits of the province were extended by a new line very much outside the old frontier; and no land was to be given on enfiteusis *within* the new ones. The renewal of contract, according to the principles of law of 1828, was extended only to those, who would accept of land outside the new boundaries.

The land law of 1839 was solely for donations of land to reward public *employés*. In 1840 came another law, ordaining to those who had received camps by the previous code, that they should occupy them in the peremptory term of three months after this notice. And the joke of this proviso consisted in the fact, that the greater number of persons possessing such tickets of titles were, at the time, either in prison, or had emigrated on account of a revolution away down South.

From the period of 1840, during the invasion of General Lavalle, and the despotism of Rosas to 1852, the reign of terror, assassination, and official robbery pervaded the camps, and so all kinds of law ceased to exist.

Under the new Government of the province, whilst Urquiza was President of the Confederation, one of the first official steps in May, 1852, was a law, forbidding the alienation or transferring of public lands. In 1855, the principle of donations was re-established by granting 100 leagues of land in Patagonia and Bahía Blanca, to those who desired to occupy them. In October, 1857, a land law was passed, which repealed all former regulations, and established the simple leasing of public lands for a period of eight years, the Government reserving to itself the right to sell such lands over the holder's head, during the time of occupation. But in 1858 the climax was attained by a law passed on the 12th October, whereby all the presents of lands and landed properties, that had been made from 8th December, 1829, up to 2nd February, 1852, were revoked, and this without ex-

ception of their being rewards for military services, and made out with legal titles.

It is no wonder that there could be no foreign element of agriculture introduced under such laws as these. For their only purport, outside of the fact of their bad faith, seems to have been to encourage from time to time the breeding of cattle, on which any revolutionary Gaucho chief could make a raid.

Other laws were passed in 1862, 1863, and 1864; whilst the last and existing one is that which was sanctioned in 1866. This prohibited the renewal of contracts for rental of public lands within the frontier, marked out by decree of July 19, 1858, with the exception of certain plots already designed. These include the camps of Rosas, lands at Chivilcoy, those adjacent to Belgrano, San Isidro, San Fernando, Conchas, San José de Flores, Moron, Matanzas, South Barracas, Quilmes, and those lying between the Custom House and the Boca. Of this lot the chief portion is situated within the suburbs of the capital, Buenos Ayres.

By existing law for the sale of land, sub-tenants are to be preferred as purchasers before tenants. In one of its articles, is also provided, that when any of the lands at present rented out come to be sold, to other than the actual tenant or sub-tenant, the tenant shall be entitled to demand of the buyer, compensation for all improvements at a fair estimate.

All the lands within the frontier of this province were by this law divided into four classes, for which the prices are fixed: \$<sup>m</sup>.120,000 (960*l*.) per square league for the first; \$<sup>m</sup>.150,000 (1200*l*.) for the

second; \$<sup>m.</sup>200,000 (1600*l.*) for the third; and \$400,000 (3200*l.*) for the fourth. Such prices as these for camp land in any part of South America are perfectly preposterous, and are quite antagonistic to the ideas expressed, as well as acted upon by the late Governor of Santa Fé province.

The "Codigo Rural," of the province of Buenos Ayres, is a legislative enactment for the regulation and supposed protection of the rural interests. Its ordinances are dispensed by the justices of peace, *alcaldes*, and *vigilantes*. Each province of the republic has a rural code of its own.

To protect and encourage all camp matters, the Sociedad Rural Argentina was founded on 16th August, 1866.

Of the land laws in Entre Rios I make a summary from a pamphlet presented to me by our *Gefe Politico* at Rosario in 1867, Don Martin Ruiz Moreno. It appears that the collection in this pamphlet was put together in consequence of a great number of owners, as well as occupiers of land being ignorant of any laws existing on the subject before A.D. 1861. But I find that on the 21st October, 1823, was passed a law, calling upon immigrants, recently constituted as such, to occupy the grounds conceded to them, in less than ninety days after passing of this act, or to cede their right of ownership to the state. Señor Moreno tells us, that neither in the archives of the Secretary of Legislation, nor in those of the Government, could any indication of the aforesaid act be found.

On the 27th July, 1824, was passed a somewhat similar law to the foregoing—the principal difference

being, that the Congress passing these laws held its session in the first of them at Uruguay, the orthodox capital of Entre Rios province, and for the second at Paraná, which was afterwards the seat of the National Government.

On the 30th July, 1824, a land law was introduced to the Senate to sanction a contract with Don Pascual Costa and Company, on the part of some capitalists at Buenos Ayres, to buy up all the lands that belonged to the state, in lots of three square leagues each. Every lot to be bought for 150 dollars, of land close to a navigable river; at 90 dollars, four leagues distant from such a watery highway; and 70 dollars, for those farther out. This law was sanctioned by the Executive on the 2nd August in the same year, and received the approbation of Congress on the same day. But the previous occupiers rose in indignant protest against this measure—those of the departments east of Gualeguay putting themselves in armed resistance to oppose it.

An act sanctioned on the 14th December, 1824, repealed the principles of those of 21st October, 1823, and 27th July, 1824, to the effect, that possession without occupation was to be considered null and void; and that if the lands were not at once turned to use, they were to revert to the Government.

In the month of March, 1825, another law was passed, claiming, to obviate frauds on the Treasury effected by speculators, that land bought by the Pacunal Costa Company should pay the land-tax (*alcabala*); and by a law of 19th August, 1830, the same company's territory was ordered not to be sold



for less than 100 dollars per square league that which was previously sold for 50. To this was to be added, duty of stamped paper for title-deeds, to the amount of 16 dollars per league, and so in proportion.

A decree was passed in 1835, conceding lots of land, nine square leagues in extent, to any one who would go and occupy them. These were situated in the north-west of the province, in the department called Montiel, where there is an abundance of wood and water.

In February, 1849, the provincial Senate, holding its sittings in Paraná city, decreed authority for the Government to have measured all camps of the province, whether of public or private property, leaving, at the same time, to Captain-General, Brigadier Don Justin José de Urquiza to arrange for disposal of them in the manner that seemed to him most convenient. The same act authorized the erection of a topographical department.

A new law was passed in February, 1850, for the registration of title-deeds, in consequence of some litigations; and in October, 1860, another was sanctioned, providing that those merely occupying land, though with a legal title, but not of possessorship, should pay rent. No one was to possess more than three leagues of land, nor less than one, for pastoral purposes. The rent was to be an annual charge of 50 dollars per square league.

On 19th November, 1861, an act was made, to sanction the sale by private contract or by public auction of 400 leagues of land, at the minimum price of 3000 gold dollars per square league.

A registry office for title-deeds was created by the law of 9th May, 1862.

By a solicitation of Señor Moreno this collection of laws was declared, in 1864, to be a perfectly correct one.

The land laws of the interior provinces are not so much needed to be known by the immigrant, who comes out here from Europe or North America. It is on the banks of the Paraná, that the settlers, whether of commercial, agricultural, or pastoral tendencies, must first make their footing sure, — before they ramify to the interior with that infusion of the foreign element, which every day's experience teaches us to be indispensable for the industrial development of these South American plains.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Over the Andes, and shooting a Condor — Alpine Club to be transmuted into Andine — Range of the Condor's Habitation — Extent of Wings — Mode of catching the Bird — Tenacity of Life in the Condor — Baron von Humboldt's Experiences — Ulloa's Assertion — From England to Rosario — From Rosario to Valparaiso — Diligencia Line across the Pampas — The Route by Cordoba — Cumbre and Uspallata Passes — The Planchon Pass — Turnpike on the Andes — Frozen-up Passes — The San Francisco Pass always open — Diligencia Itinerary — Journey on Mule-back — Bridge of the Incas — Perpetual Institution of Earthquake — Table of Chilian Currency — From Valparaiso, North or South — To Panama, or Tierra del Fuego — To England *via* United States — Healthy and Unhealthy Season at New Orleans — Professor Argassiz.

"I've crossed the Cordilleras of the South American Andes, and shot a condor!"

Although I believe there are not many people within sound of Bow Bells, who can say with truth that they have accomplished such a feat, the object of this chapter is to show how it can be done, and how any traveller, as he gazes at the lofty pinnacles of the "world's backbone," can exclaim with Moore, from the banks of the St. Lawrence:—

" — These are miracles, which man,  
Caged in the bounds of Europe's pigmy plan,  
Can scarcely dream of; which his eye must see,  
To know how beautiful this world can be."

In our sensational age,—with the progress of railways and electric telegraphs, one need scarcely wonder, that a run across the Cordilleras of the mighty Andes may come to be as much a thing of the time as

a visit to the cataracts of Niagara. The Alps shall soon be considered as "common," by having a tunnel bored through them; and to this may be added their approaching an "used-up" condition, through the members of the Alpine Club making all their glaciers as well known, as are the lodging-houses of Ratcliffe Highway to the sailors of the Thames. Therefore, by the magic wand of a harlequin, let us effect a transformation of Alpine Club into Andine! From London to Paris,—from Manchester to Mont Righi,—up the Rhine,—or from Marseilles to Algiers,—shall then be only trips of vulgar associations,—whereas a new sensation can be achieved by a journey, involving only four months' absence from England, and the outlay of a few hundred pounds,—over the great Andes. This being achieved, Captain Brown can say to Major Smith, when he meets him on Pall Mall:—"My dear fellow, I was not satisfied with what Sir Edmund Head and Major Rickards tell the world of what they saw; so that, since we met last, 'I've crossed the Cordillras of the South American Andes, and shot a condor!'"

The condor is a bird peculiar to the South American Andes. It has been observed throughout the whole range of that immense chain of mountains—the Cordilleras of the Andes, or the backbone of the world,—which traverses the continent of South America from the Straits of Magellan to the seventh degree of north latitude. In Goold's 'Naturalist's Library' we are informed:—"The condor appears to be much more common in Chili and Peru than in any other part of the chain, and is most frequently met with

at an elevation of from ten to fifteen thousand feet above the level of the ocean." Here, in the regions of perpetual snow, they may be seen grouped together to the number of three or four, (but never in the large troupes in which the true vulture sometimes assemble), on the bold points of the jutting rocks, many of the most remarkable of which are designated by the natives with names, derived from the bird that haunts their pinnacles. The extent of wings in the condor of the Andes at times has been known to reach to 14 feet, although Baron Von Humboldt met with none that exceeded nine feet. The Indians catch them with a lasso, when they have gorged themselves upon carcases, so as to be unable to fly. To prove that it will be no small feat to shoot a condor may be inferred by the following extract from Goold's work already quoted :—

"In tenacity of life, the condor exceeds almost every other bird. Baron Von Humboldt relates, that during his stay at Rio Bamba, he was present at some experiments which were made on one by the Indians, who had taken it alive. They first strangled it with a lasso and hanged it on a tree, pulling it forcibly by the feet for several minutes; but scarcely was the lasso removed, when the bird arose and walked about, as though nothing had occurred to affect it. It was then shot with three balls, discharged from a pistol at less than four paces, all of which entered its body, and wounded it in the neck, chest, and abdomen. It still, however, kept its legs. Another ball struck its thigh, and it fell to the ground. This was preserved for a considerable time by Monsieur Bonpland, as a memorial of the circumstance. Ulloa had previously

asserted, that, in the colder parts of Peru, the skin of the condor was so closely covered with feathers, that eight or ten balls might be heard to strike it without penetrating its body. Baron Von Humboldt's bird did not die of its wounds until after an interval of half an hour.

By mail steamer from Southampton on the 9th, or from Bordeaux on the 24th of each month,—by passenger-steamer from Liverpool, twice a month likewise,—by one of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company's vessels, some of which have made the run out from Liverpool to Monte Video in twenty-one days—by the very fast steamers of the Belgium, Brazil, and River Plate line from Antwerp or Falmouth every month, the traveller can reach Buenos Ayres in a little over four weeks. This journey includes a few days at Lisbon, a touch at the barren island of St. Vincent, stoppage at Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio Janeiro in Brazil. The stay at the last-named place,—with the mail-steamers at least,—gives the voyager an opportunity of viewing the beauties of the most magnificent harbour in the world. Arrived at Buenos Ayres, you have steamers three times a week up the magnificent river Paraná to Rosario, whence you can be booked in the Diligencia office, to be conveyed right over the Andes to Valparaiso in Chili. This (from Rosario) is a journey of about 900 miles, occupying, according to weather, from fifteen to twenty days—costing about 15*l*.

The Diligencia line to Mendoza, from whence are generally traversed the Andes by the Uspallata and Cumbre passes, goes almost directly from east to west

across the Pampas, at its divergence from the northern road near Frayle Muerte. This last-named place is almost midway, or say 115 miles, between Rosario and the city of Cordoba. If the travellers be young men and unencumbered, as well as not pushed for time, they can go north-west to see the magnificent old city of Cordoba, and thence take a new road, traced out by Mr. Klappenback, from this city to the silver mines of San Juan, whence they can turn south to Mendoza, or cross the Andes by the "Los Patos" Pass (the Duck's Passage).

Another road, farther south than these, by the Planchon Pass, has an especial interest. That medieval institution, the turnpike, being now abolished in the vicinity of London, it will be a refresher for all those, who cling to the memories of by-gone times, to find a turnpike on the summit of the Andes, when crossing the road from Boleadero in the Argentine Republic to the Rio Teno in Chili. This is about being established by Monsieur Carpentier, one of the most enterprising Frenchmen in South America, who has obtained from the Argentine and Chilian Governments the exclusive privilege for twenty years to impose a toll in that locality. A survey of this route has just been made by Señor Don A. J. Antonio Perez, civil engineer, of Talca in Chili; and he assures us, that when it is finished, as it is intended to be for carriages, it will shorten the actual journey from Rosario, across the Pampas and over the Andes, by eight days.

Any or all of these passes which I have mentioned are obstructed by snow in the months of June, July, and August. But farther north, *i.e.* to the west of

Rioja and Catamarca provinces in the Argentine Republic, we have the pass of San Francisco, over which the Centro-Argentine Railway is to go to Caldera; and this is never obstructed. Mr. Wheelwright tells me that during his residence in this neighbourhood for nine years, the San Francisco Pass was not completely blocked up for a day.

The itinerary of the Diligence journey may be set forth *à la* Bradshaw:—From Rosario to Frayle Muerte (by railway), six hours; Frayle Muerte to Mendoza, eight days; Mendoza to Villa Vicenza, one day; Villa Vicenza to Upsallata, one day; the latter to Rio de los Vaccas, one day; this to Pujios, one day; from that to Los Ojos de Agua, one day; thence to La Cuadra Vieja, twelve leagues. The same to Los Loros, as to Santa Rosa de los Andes, will occupy from one to three days, according to the state of the roads, and the condition of your mules. For all the journey, from Mendoza to Santa Rosa, is made upon mule back. From this last-named place to Santiago, the capital of Chili, you travel by Diligence, and then you proceed to Valparaiso by railroad.

One of the bridges of the Incas is on this route, near Los Pujios.

It may be scarcely necessary for me to state that Chili is a country, in which the earthquake may be said to be a perpetual institution. But arrived here, the traveller is probably desirous to know something about the decimal currency of the country, and I therefore submit the following table for his information:—



10 condors	=	100 dollars	=	10,000 centavos	=	20	0	0
5 "	=	50 "	=	5,000 "	=	10	0	0
2 "	=	20 "	=	2,000 "	=	4	0	0
Condor	=	10 "	=	1,000 "	=	2	0	0
Doblon	=	5 "	=	500 "	=	1	0	0
Eacudo	=	2 "	=	200 "	=	0	8	0
Dollar	=	1 "	=	100 "	=	0	4	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ -dollar	=	5 decimos	=	50 "	=	0	2	0
Peseta	=	2 "	=	20 "	=	0	0	10
$\frac{1}{2}$ -peseta	=	1 "	=	10 "	=	0	0	5
$\frac{1}{2}$ -decimo	=	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	=	5 "	=	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Centavo (copper)	=	1 "	=	1 "	=	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

From Valparaiso to Lima, in Peru, you can steam along the Pacific coast northward, doing the journey in eight days, and in eight days more you can reach Panama. The cost of this voyage is only 100 dollars, or about 20%. In case one of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company's vessels should be leaving Valparaiso for the homeward voyage, when you are there, a trip can be made through the Straits of Magellan, in which may be had a glimpse of the celebrated Tierra del Fuego; and by this route you go again to England from Monte Video.

But returning *viâ* Panama, you cross in the railway from Aspinwall to Chagres, and thence proceed by either of three routes: 1, by West India Mail Steamer from St. Thomas's; 2, through New Orleans, by which you can voyage in one of the British and American Steam Company's vessels to Liverpool; or 3, go up the Mississippi, from New Orleans, and visit any or all of the principal lions in the United States.

I may add, that from November to May is the yellow fever season in New Orleans; but from May to October—our tropical winter season—there is no danger in this journey.

Another way to the Andes, although I cannot say about crossing them, is mentioned by Professor Agassiz,—up the river Amazon. The climate in that region he describes as delightful. The nights are cool, because the Amazon runs from west to east, in the face of the trade winds, so that cool breezes are continually blowing up the river. Of the Amazon Steamship Company the vessels are so comfortable and well managed, that a trip to the foot of the Andes in them is, according to the Professor's experience, as agreeable as an excursion on the Rhine.

## CHAPTER XXV.

Indian Invasion over the Frontiers — Pillaging Cattle to sell in Chile — De Azara's and Taboada's Opinions — Gaucho Element amongst the Indians — Author's Style of Fortifications — General Paunero's Report — Suggestions for new Line of Frontier Forts — General Don Antonino Taboada's Activity — General Paunero's two Plans — Addition of 20,000 Square Leagues of Land — Southern Limit of Rio Colorado — Murder of Englishmen at Frayle Muerte — "Flying Forts," and Plan of paying Soldiers — What they propose to do at Frayle Muerte — Murders at Pearson's Estancia — Assassination of the Brothers Barron, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Horne.

ONE of the greatest bugbears in the matter of immigration to the Argentine Republic has been, and is still, the invasion of Indians across the established frontiers. Of these inroads the chief feature appears, that they pillage immense droves of cattle, which are conveyed across the Andes to be sold in Chile. Whenever opposed in their marauding, it generally happens that some lives are sacrificed, as well as that women and children are taken away into captivity.

From the opinions of De Azara in old times, as well as of my friend, General Don Antonino Taboada in the present, I do not believe that the pure Indians exist in bodies sufficiently large to make such raids successful. But they are aided by those Gauchos, who are refugees from the law for throat-cutting and robbery, as well as by deserters from the army, who do not understand why, as in the present Paraguayan war, they should be forced to fight for a cause, of whose merits or demerits they are ignorant.

In my last work\* I suggested what I thought then, and still think, the proper style of fortifications, not only to stop the recurrence of these invasions, but to root them out altogether; namely, the establishment of agricultural colonies. In the year succeeding the composition of that work, a report, with suggestions to be acted on, was presented by one of the bravest of Argentine officers, General Wenceslao Paunero, to the Minister of War and Marine, General Don Juan Andres Gelly y Obes.†

Previous to compiling this report, General Paunero made a tour of inspection along the southern line of existing frontier, between the provinces of Mendoza and Santa Fé. With this memoir he had a map drawn out, in which were marked down the line of frontier in the time of the Confederate Government, under General Urquiza, the line as it was extended by the existing National Government, after the battle of Pavon, and the new line, proposed by the general to be established by means of his suggestions.

Without entering into the statistics of the different forts in the provinces of Mendoza, San Luis, Cordoba, Santa Fé, and Buenos Ayres, with the number of men in each fort, and the distances in linear leagues that separate those in Buenos Ayres province, I may condense a few of the general's remarks. He states, that when the Confederation existed, in which Buenos

\* 'Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings,' chap. xiv., p. 119.

† Informe sobre las fronteras de la Republica, que presenta al Exmo Señor Ministro de Guerra y Marina de la Republica Argentina, General Don Juan A. Gelly y Obes, el Inspector y Commandante General de Armas, General Wenceslao Paunero. Buenos Ayres, Imprenta del Comercio del Plata, 1864.

Ayres province was not included, the frontier forts, along an extension of 253 leagues from San Rafael in Mendoza, to Villa Mercedes in Buenos Ayres, comprised only five forts, garrisoned by no more than 718 men; whilst the province of Buenos Ayres, within an extent of 107 leagues, was protected by fourteen military forts, containing an aggregate of 3500 men of the line and national guards.

General Paunero says, that the old line of frontier forts on the Gran Chaco, professedly intended to protect the provinces of Santa Fé, Santiago del Estero, Cordoba, and Salta, was a perfectly useless thing, although costing large outlay to the National Government, in the days of the Confederation. He further adds, that with the exception of explorations practised by Colonel du Graty, these fortifications never effected any good, with their 360 men, who occupied the forts of San Xavier in Santa Fé, Fort Urquiza in Santiago del Estero, Oran in Salta, and other points. Now, I know this assumption to be erroneous; as to my own knowledge, no one has done more for the last ten years, and with less subsidy from any Government, than has one of the best and most valiant of Argentine officers, General Don Antonino Taboada. His repeated pursuits of the Tobas and other Indians, after their invasions against the Salado forts, have resulted in completely keeping these savages to their own hunting-grounds.

Paunero proposes two plans, differing chiefly in their extent of operations. The first is, that the Government should constitute the river Colorado to be the southern boundary of the Argentine Republic,—

to have five military columns occupying positions in a line from Mendoza by San Luis, Rojas, Azul, and Bahia Blanca, some leagues to the south of which last-named place the river Colorado falls into the Atlantic Ocean. Then to offer terms of peace and friendship to the Indians, and if they do not accept these, to keep them between the rivers Colorado and Negro, a country in which they are to be starved out. This plan, if accomplished, would give to the Argentine Republic, indeed we might rather say to the province of Buenos Ayres, 20,000 square leagues of land beyond what it possesses in the present day. This, too, in a part of South America, the most fertile of soils, and most genial to Europeans in the matter of climate.

In case such a design be considered too extensive, the General proposes another plan,—namely, to limit progress to the mountain called Sierra de Ventana, which is north of Bahia Blanca, and to unite all the forces from Azul to Bahia Blanca in one army; then to form a division of other regiments, in which are to be incorporated the friendly Indians of Coliqueo, and to establish a few small forts, that would communicate to the main army news of an invasion, when such a thing was on the move.

The present number of fighting Indians of the Pampas, comprising the Aracaunos, Ranqueles, Pequenches, Tehuelches, and a few others, is calculated by the General to amount to 6000 fighting men.\* Abstract the Gaucho element from this, and it is most

\* Dr. Martin de Moussy estimates the fighting Indians of the Pampas to be only 3000, and De Azara no more than 400. So that, if they amount to the General's figure, there must be a considerable Gaucho sprinkling, as the Indians are known to be everywhere on the decrease.

probable that less than half the number would be nearer to the truth. They are always well supplied with horses—stolen, of course,—and in the present state of the Argentine war with Paraguay, half-a-dozen men could not be spared, even if they were sufficient, to oppose the Indians in any way. The savages know this well, and therefore during the last year (1866) they made an invasion on Rio Cuarto and Frayle Muerte, killing, at the latter place, three Englishmen of the settlement commenced there a few years ago.

“I must confess frankly,” says the General, “my opinion, that the second project has an advantage over the first, inasmuch as it will not necessitate the removal of our troops to any distance outside the centres of population. But, on the other hand, in order to take possession of the territory occupied by the Ranqueles, it will be necessary to advance to Guamini; and in this movement the larger effective part of our regiment will have to be employed. At the same time, it may be no harm to recollect that, although the second plan be less expensive and more easy of execution than the first, it does not offer, as the other, the natural frontier of a river rising in the Andes and disemboguing in the ocean as the Colorado does. Neither does it make manifest the economy in the matter of troops and other elements of war, nor the acquisition of an immense territory, that can be reclaimed only by the labour of civilized man, who can make it one of the most valuable and fertile soils in the world.”

The Indian invasions are generally made at full moon, and chiefly in October, November, and De-

cember. These months are necessary, from the fact that the Andes are impassable on account of snow from May to September; and as the raids are instituted for the object of carrying off cattle, there would be no use in having these cattle, when the road to their market is not open.

Leaving aside what may be considered the moonshine of adding 20,000 leagues to a part of the world of which the tenth part is not occupied, it appears to me that if a series of "flying" or movable forts were established, the Indians would soon be rooted out. The officers and soldiers occupying these forts might be Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, or Europeans of any nation. Whilst subject to the orders of the Executive, their pay should be a proportionate grant of these 20,000 leagues of land already spoken of, secured by proper titles to them and their descendants. Let these men be well armed and well mounted,—here to-day, and there to-morrow,—ever ready to fight at a moment's warning. Then, as soon as they have sent the Indians to the other side of the Colorado they will turn their swords into ploughshares or reaping hooks—secure in the possession of their well-earned property—and, by industry in agriculture, will not only lay the foundation of increased prosperity to the revenues of the Government, but, by the implanting of a new race on the soil, shall secure a continuation of commercial riches, in perpetuity.

The murder of three Englishmen at Mr. Pearson's estancia in Frayle Muerte on 16th October, 1866, and the report of a surviving peon, that this was effected by an attack of several hundred Indians,



roused up the British residents in that place to call on the National Government for some protection against the repetition of such an invasion. A German officer, named Captain Wehrens, was sent up to Frayle Muerte by the Prime Minister, Dr. Rawson, for the purpose of reporting as to the best means to be adopted. At the time of Captain Wehren's arrival there, General Paunero was in the place, on his way to put down a rebellion in Mendoza; and at a meeting held on the occasion, the following plan was proposed to be submitted to the Government:—To build a fort, and garrison it with from fifty to sixty Swiss families, who were expected to come from the colonies of Santa Fé. For the inducement of these, each family was to receive so many head of cattle, forty acres of land for tillage, with pay and rations as troops of the line. Ten men were to be kept constantly on picket service, day about; so that each man would have to do duty one day in five. The term of service was to have been five years, at the end of which each man should get a land-grant of 1000 acres; and for this purpose the Government of Cordoba was expected to give a concession of ten leagues of camp. Five years hence these lands should be all settled on, when the fort was to be no longer needed; and it was calculated, that each family would then have received about 500*l.* sterling, between pay, stock, and land. The total cost of the fort and colony, which was to be provided with good horses and the best of rifles, was set down at 70,000 Bolivian dollars (12,000*l.*), of which 23,000 must be made up at once for primary expenses. The English residents at the time of meeting (in December,

1866) subscribed 3000 dollars. A subscription was likewise opened in the town of Frayle Muerte by the natives; but it appears to me very doubtful that any of the Swiss colonists settled at Santa Fé will volunteer—as Captain Wehren assured the meeting they would—for the purpose, and in consideration of the remuneration, set forth.

Soon after comes down news from San Juan of the murder of the two brothers, James and William Barron, of Waterford, as they were proceeding to that city with a troop of mules for sale.

In October, 1867, a young Englishman, named Horne, was murdered at his house, within a league-and-a-half of the Canada de Gomez station of the Centro-Argentine Railway Station, not more than ten leagues from where Mr. Marshall, of London, was assassinated in April, 1865.

Whilst admitting that murders do occur, perhaps with as much barbarity and equal frequency, in England and the British colonies, as out here, still in those places efforts are made to arrest and punish the murderer. Here nothing of the kind is done. For the criminal laws of this country are a perfect farce; and it is scarcely ever that a culprit, even caught, *flagrante delicto*, with his knife in a man's throat, suffers more than being obliged to serve in the army for a certain time. I have many a time said to the people in authority here, and I repeat it again—my conviction from six years' experience—that the only mode to put a stop to these Indian invasions is to adopt a plan similar to that which has succeeded so well at the Cape of Good Hope in driving back the Kaffirs.

There a volunteer regiment was formed at each settlement, under the command of a field-cornet. This officer was generally the magistrate of a department; and the men called out under him to repel an invasion, were generally led, after recovering their own property, to penetrate into the Kaffir's country, and retaliate. All the booty in the shape of horses and cattle thus taken in reprisal, was divided amongst the captors on their return.

Such a system as this, by depriving the Pampas Indians of their horses and cattle, would take away their means of locomotion, and thus render their invasion an impossibility.

How much dependence may be placed on the so-called military garrisons, may be learned from the following fact. On the 26th of November, 1867, the colony of Sunchales was attacked by Indians from the Gran Chaco, and nine of its inhabitants murdered. Two children were taken away by the raiders; and only four of the population escaped, amongst whom was my informant, a Canadian, named Victor Gendron. From his statement it appears that more than one-half of the attacking party were of the soldiers placed there to protect the colonists.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Argentine Beef Supply *versus* Rinderpest — Charqui, or Jerked Beef — Dr. Morgan's New Process for the Preservation of Meat for Food — Its Advantages over the Mode practised in Saladeros — Cheapness and Despatch of Morgan's Method — *Modus Operandi* in Preparation — Perfection of the Process — Amount of Beef supplied by each Animal — The Morgan Company — Mr. Ford's Report on Meat — His Opinion of the Morgan System — Liebig's Extractum Carnis — How this is made, and the Price it is sold for — Its Convenience from portability — Paris and Sloper's Meat Preserving — Its Advantages — Mr. E. B. Neill's Advocacy — The Olinden Method — Parkes and Anderson — George's System — Bailey's Process.

WHETHER the Rinderpest shall again visit Great Britain in the present century or not, it must be allowed that one of the most important products of the Argentine Republic could be made in the article of beef. This may be considered more emphatically to be established, when we see that the operations at Saladeros have for their chief objects only the saving of hides and tallow. For these are calculated as sufficient to pay the first cost of the animal, with a marginal profit. That profit is increased, of course, by the bones, hoofs, and flesh, which last named, by its mode of manufacture into charqui, or jerked beef, could have been hitherto regarded as a species of carbuncular hide. Only in Brazil and Cuba, where it is bought on account of its cheapness to feed the slaves, has this charqui ever been a marketable article.

Doctor Morgan's "New Process for the Preservation of Meat for Food" seems a rational one. From Doctor Morgan's pamphlet before me, I learn the essential points of the difference between the method in use at the Saladeros for preserving meat, or food, and that introduced by him. "The disadvantages of the old system are: 1st, by the rubbing and laying in salt, the meat is deprived of its nutritive qualities, to the extent of one-third (according to the calculations of so eminent an authority as Baron Liebig\*); so that, apart from the injury done by the absence of these qualities, the financial loss is enormous,—in a single curing season amounting to 25,000*l.*, or one-third the cost of 5000 oxen, producing 5 cwt. of meat each, at 3*l.* per cwt. 2nd, the meat is then packed in salt and brine, and a further abstraction of the nutritive and essential elements thus takes place, proportioned to the length of time in cask. 3rd, when thus injured, and rendered difficult of digestion by being hardened, the meat can only be prepared for the table by boiling; any remaining soluble element being as far as possible, taken away and rejected."

The expense incurred in consequence of this latter, through the necessity of supplying the natural elements abstracted, by using lemon juice, &c., &c., and the indispensability of curing the meat only in winter—thus involving the preparation of a large quantity of stores—are the other two objections. Whereas in Dr. Morgan's process, "there is no rubbing or laying in salt, and therefore no abstraction of nutritive mate-

\* 'Letters on Chemistry,' p. 448.

rials, or financial loss. *An entire ox can be preserved in ten minutes, and at a cost of sixpence or eightpence.* The flesh is put to dry as soon as convenient, and when dried, is packed in barrels, or cases, with sawdust, or some dry material. It is therefore more portable than by any other method. The meat can be eaten, either uncooked, or as beefsteaks, roasts, hashes, soups, &c.—thus admitting of a suitable nutriment for invalids, and also of variety. The elements of vegetables, as antiscorbutics, can be artificially added to the flesh—thereby presenting meat and vegetable at the same time. Wherever a ship touches, and at all seasons, meat can be prepared for stores on the spot with great economy. The apparatus necessary for preserving any number of animals is portable by one man, and costs but a few shillings. No special machinery or building is necessary.”

Baron Liebig states that “if flesh employed as food is again to become flesh in the body—if it is to retain the power of reproducing itself in its original condition, none of the constituents of raw flesh ought to be withdrawn from it during the preparation of food.” From which it may be inferred that the meat should retain the natural elements, sufficient for perfect supply of reconstructing properties.

Without going any further into the chemistry of the subject, I may record the *modus operandi* of preparation, as it is performed at the Paysandu Saladero, in the Banda Oriental:—“The animal is killed by a blow on the head, piercing the brain, and causing instantaneous death. The chest is then at once opened and the heart exposed. An incision is made into the

right side of it—either the right ventricle or auricle, and directly another into the left side (the left ventricle); the blood from the right side (venous) and from the left (arterial) immediately rushes out. When it has ceased flowing, a pipe is introduced into the incision in the left ventricle—and so into the aorta, or great vessel leading through the body, *i.e.* the trunk of the circulatory tree, and is there firmly retained. This pipe can be connected by a coupling with a stop-cock, fixed to a flexible tubing, 20 to 25 feet long; and this tubing communicates with a tank raised the height of the length of the tube, into which brine and a little nitre is put when well strained (about 1 gallon to the cwt.). The stop-cock is connected to the pipe in the aorta, and the fluid let on; it will rush out at the incision in the right side of the heart, after traversing all the circulatory organs, in four or five seconds, in sheep, swine, and such like, and in nine or twelve seconds in oxen—and in two minutes or so in the latter, and proportionately less in the former, will have all run through, thereby clearing the vessels and capillaries, and preparing for the second stage, which is performed simply by closing the incision in the right side with a strong sliding forceps, and thereby rendering the circulatory system perfect, as originally, but with the vessels free and ready to receive the preservative fluid.

Into the tank above alluded to, the final materials to be used are introduced, and turned on as before when rushing through, and thus filling the circulatory tree; and the opening in the right side being *now stopped up*, the fluid over-distends the hitherto empty

vessels; the flesh surrounding the capillaries takes up the fluid in every part, and it, as well as every tissue of the body, will thus be saturated with preservative fluid. Whatever may be used, a few minutes suffice for the whole operation.\* It is no exaggeration to say, that with proper arrangements, an entire ox could be preserved with ease in ten minutes,—and this without labour, or anything worth calling machinery, and with nominal expense.

The perfection of the process is proved by the fact that when the animal has lain about three-quarters of an hour to let the tissues be thoroughly saturated, it may be cut into pieces of suitable sizes—not too thick to prevent a reasonable escape of the water by evaporation—and hung up at once to dry in a chamber with a good current of air and a little smoke, or without it, if preferred; if possible, furnished with a revolving ventilator, worked by water or steam. Failing these arrangements, it should be dried,—if on board ship, by suspending in the air or aloft,—if on land, in a chimney, or some convenient situation, dry, and well ventilated.

Dr. Louis A. Fleury, who has the management of this system at the Saladero in Paysandu, says:—“A good-conditioned animal will give about 300 lbs. weight of fresh beef, which will sell in England at from 4*d.* to 5*d.* per lb., and perhaps more,—thus yielding from 24 to 30 dollars (of 10 reals each) for the meat alone of the animal. These prices have been

\* One gallon of saturated brine, and three ounces of saltpetre to the cwt., increased, if necessary, to double the quantities, will answer for general purposes.



already obtained for some of the meat prepared by me and sent to England. However, we hope now to send always a much better article than formerly, owing to some recent improvements, introduced under the able co-operation of Mr. Richard Williams.”\*

In Dr. Morgan's pamphlet there are further details with reference to incorporation of sugary and vegetable materials in preparing the meat for sailors and soldiers on foreign service; but the foregoing are the main principles of this patent for curing beef.

From a Report “On South American Meat, as adapted to the European Market,” compiled by Mr. Francis Clare Ford, our late *Chargé-d’Affaires* in Buenos Ayres, and presented to the House of Commons last year (1866) by Lord Stanley, I can gather some very interesting facts and figures. Of Morgan's process, Mr. Ford says, that since the month of May of last year (1865), when operations were commenced at the Paysandu Saladero, 500,000 lbs. of beef and mutton, prepared according to this plan, have been shipped to Liverpool, and met with a ready sale at 4*d.* per lb. Mr. Ford speaks of the samples of it which he has tasted as being “inviting and palatable, the beef bearing a close resemblance to our English corn-beef.” This never could have been said of the charqui.

Liebig's “*Extractum Carnis*,” as it is entitled, is a concentrated essence of meat, the description of which is best given in the words of Mr. Ford. “This process differs essentially from that employed by Mr. Morgan;

\* Mr. Williams, who has had many years' experience in Saladero work, is the representative of the Morgan Patent Meat Preserving Company (Limited), whose agent in England is Mr. Irving, 36, Albany, Old Hall Street, Liverpool.

for the meat, instead of being preserved whole, is reduced to an essence, and can consequently only be used as soup or stock. Its strength can be estimated from the fact that 33 lbs. of meat are reduced to 1 lb. of essence, which is sufficient to make broth for 128 men. A tin containing 1 lb. of this extract can be sold in London for 12s. 6d. Eight small tins will hold the concentrated alimentary matter of an entire ox, at a price of 96s., and will make over 1000 basins of soup,—good strong soup; one teaspoonful to a large cup of water, and eaten either alone or with the addition of a little bread, potato, and salt, affords a good repast. The small bulk taken up by this excellent preparation recommends it especially to the army and navy, whilst its purity and entire absence from grease particularly adapt it to the use of hospitals and invalids. Hitherto the almost exclusive exportation of this excellent extract has been to Germany, where its consumption is already very great; but a new company (Liebig's Extract of Meat Company, Limited, 43, Mark Lane) is about to be formed in London, when it is hoped that this new article of food will be generally appreciated and adopted.

“The process by which the essence of the meat is extracted is very simple, though requiring no small amount of labour and machinery. The flesh of the animal, after being killed, is allowed to cool for twenty-four hours. It is then placed in round iron rollers (armed inside with points) which, being revolved by steam, reduce the meat to a pulp. This pulp is thrown into a large vat with water, and allowed to steam for an hour. It is then passed into a reservoir, shaped

like a trough, with a sieve at the bottom, from whence the liquid of the meat oozes into another vat, from which the fat is drawn off. The pure gravy is then put into open vats, supplied with steam-pipes, and with bellows on the surface, which produce a blast, and carry off the steam, thus helping the evaporation, and preventing condensation. Here it remains from six to eight hours, when it is passed into a filtering vat, and drawn off in the form of extract of meat. When cool, it partially hardens, and is ready for packing in tins, and for exportation."

Another process by Messrs. Paris and Sloper—mentioned in Mr. Ford's Report, and for which a patent has been taken out in Buenos Ayres—is to preserve meat in its fresh and raw state, so that it is to arrive in England as butchers' meat just killed, and can be sold at from 4*d.* to 5*d.* per pound. This likewise possesses the advantage, that when taken out of the air-tight tins in which it is packed, and exposed to the air, it will keep sound twice as long as the ordinary butchers' meat. The curing process is based on the expulsion of all oxygen from the vessel in which the meat is to be packed—the bone being previously extracted from the latter, but the fat left. From the tins, in which it is put, the air is exhausted by means of water forced in at the bottom; and when the said water reaches the top, it is allowed to re-descend and run off. Then the vacuum is filled by a certain gas, the composition of which is kept a secret,—the two holes at top and bottom are carefully soldered down, and the meat is ready for exportation. At the time of Mr. Ford's Report being compiled (in

June, 1866), this system had been proved by meat, cooked and eaten in Buenos Ayres, which had been cured—according to the Paris and Sloper process—six months previously in England.

At Rosario, in Santa Fé, Colonel Morris, a Southern officer of the United States, attempted the North American system of beef curing. The chief features of his plan—as different from the Saladero custom—were to kill only fully-matured animals,—to let the meat hang after being killed during twenty-four hours before salting it,—and to use the Texas or Patagonia salt instead of the Cadiz. Previous to his death, about a year ago, he informed me that he could put up, by his system, prime mess beef at 1*l*. sterling per barrel of 200 lbs. weight. I have, however, been assured by my friend, Mr. P. Brown, of Buenos Ayres, that the beef, prepared by Colonel Morris, did not realize a higher price in Liverpool than the charqui, or jerked beef.

This may not be an inappropriate place for observing, that to no man in England is due more credit for bringing the River Plate meat into notice than to Mr. E. B. Neill, the Consul-General of the Oriental Republic in London.

Of the Olinden beef I know nothing save the name.

During a recent visit to Buenos Ayres (in March, 1867,) I went, in company with Mr. Richard B. Newton, to visit a newly-established beef-curing place, namely, Parkes and Anderson's. Of their excellent system I have tangible proof in the fact, that some of the beef and tongues prepared here, which were eaten at my table in Rosario, were equal to anything

of the kind from Newgate or Leadenhall markets. Mr. Parkes, who is the chief superintendent of the works, has made this subject of meat-curing the study of his lifetime. He manufactures *Extractum Carnis* on the same plan as that which is done at the Liebig place in Fray Bentos; and he is introducing a mode for the utilization of blood and other hitherto waste materials of slaughtered cattle, by which a large amount of nitro-phosphate, the best of artificial manures, will be obtained.

Another new plan of beef-curing—the invention of Mr. Edward Georges—has been brought before the British public by Mr. E. B. Neill. This is to secure that meat be preserved fresh in any climate for any length of time, and I believe it is about to be tried in Buenos Ayres.

If it be true what Messrs. Henry Medlock and William Bailey\* say, in a pamphlet, about the use of bisulphite of lime in keeping meat fresh, there is a grand market open for the Argentine Republic in this matter:—

“Owing to the high price of meat of late years, several schemes for the introduction of preserved meats from South America have been set on foot, but hitherto they have remained without any significant results. All such schemes have either been too costly, or have ruined the quality of the meat supposed to be ‘preserved.’ Apply the bisulphite here again, and what would be the result? Why, that any amount of

\* ‘Observations upon a New and Simple Process for the Preservation of Meat, Poultry, Fish, &c., in Temperate and Tropical Climates.’ Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., London. 1867. Since this chapter was arranged, Mr. Bailey informs me that their bisulphite of lime has been a great success.

meat from La Plata, where there are about 27,000,000 cattle and 40,000,000 sheep available for the use of Europe; or from Australia, where the numbers are reckoned at 180,000,000 and 300,000,000 respectively, might be effectively and easily preserved, and sold in London or Liverpool at  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  or  $3d.$  per pound."

Without exactly concurring in the foregoing figures, it may, nevertheless, be set down as a very important discovery, and I have great pleasure in recording my experience of its efficacy.

On my way home in the first of this year, some beef from England, preserved by Bailey's solution, was eaten by me at Monte Video, and proved, save for the slightest shadow of chalkiness in its flavour, to be as fresh and juicy as when it was cured four months previously.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Agriculture in the Argentine Republic — Cotton, Corn, and Wool — Decrees of Government to encourage Cultivation of the first named — Author's Efforts to have Cotton cultivated — Their Failure — Increase of Cotton in Brazil — Argentine National Proposal for Funds to advance Agriculture, contrasted with those levied for War — Sociedad Rural Argentina — The Labrador Argentino — United States Agricultural Report for 1863 — *Los dies que vengan despues* — Californians in the Gran Chaco — Contrast of Minnesota Produce — United States Agricultural Statistics for 1867 — Captain Forrest's Experience of Cotton and Cereals in Paraná — The native Plough — Season for Sowing.

IN my Report to the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester, made more than five years ago, I observed:—"It is the opinion of many thinking people, that the future wealth and prosperity of the Argentine Republic will result more from its cotton, corn, and wool, than from its copper mines of Catamarca, or its silver of San Juan." Every day's experience, since that time, impresses me more and more with this belief.

In a few months after I had set out, by directions of Earl Russell, on my wild cotton expedition of 1862, a circular was passed by the National Government, accompanying a small parcel of cotton seed, to the governor of each province. At Corrientes, in the succeeding year, a law was passed on the 13th August, 1863, giving peculiar privileges to cotton planters, including the proprietary right to any Government land that an individual would lay down in cotton-planting, besides an exemption from export tax for

three years. From the Manchester Cotton Supply Association I received in the same (August) month of the year last mentioned, twenty barrels of New Orleans cotton seed, each barrel containing 140 lbs., all of which was forwarded to the Governors of Santa Fé, Cordoba, Tucuman, Santiago del Estero, Catamarca, and Mendoza, as well as distributed to private individuals in many of these provinces, as in the neighbourhood of Rosario. But a single account of its success or failure I never received from any of these gentlemen. And in the present time (December, 1867), I believe there is little or no cotton cultivated through the whole length and breadth of the Argentine Republic—an area more than four times larger than the territorial extent of France—except what little is being raised for domestic purposes, in the province of Santiago del Estero.

Meanwhile, I find from a Report by Captain Burton, our Consul at Santos, published in the 'Manchester Cotton Supply Reporter' of December 1, 1866, that in Brazil, during the last twenty-three years, the value of cotton export has risen from 392*l.* in 1842, to 1,681,780*l.* sterling in 1865.

When we come to consider that Brazil has been engaged in foreign war since 1864, at first with the Banda Oriental, and since then with Paraguay, it is no small credit to her to have such an increase in cotton cultivation, as we find by the Report of the Minister of Agriculture and Public Works for 1867:—

EXPORTS OF COTTON FROM BRAZIL.

In 1863-1864	..	..	..	1,338,200 arrobas.
„ 1864-1865	..	..	..	1,683,625 „
„ 1865-1866	..	..	..	2,921,585 „



Of this, from the department of Rio de Janeiro alone, in 1864-65, there were 31,201 arrobas, and in 1865-66, it amounted to 216,323 arrobas. The Brazil arroba is 32 lbs. English.

On the 2nd September, 1864, the National Congress at Buenos Ayres received a suggestion of the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Rawson, to vote a sum of 10,000 silver dollars out of the general revenue, for the importation and distribution of new plants and seeds throughout the provinces. It was proposed to import from abroad those plants and seeds most suited to the climate, and the preamble reminded the Senate that "in all times agriculture has been the root and source of national greatness and prosperity, and that all enlightened governments have laboured to protect it, by instituting model farms, acclimatization schools, exhibitions, and prizes for those who devote themselves to the noble task of fertilizing the land with the sweat of their brow."

Yet as an antithesis to this grant of 10,000 dollars, "to give an impulse to agriculture," we find in the Treasury Minister's proposal for the next year, 1865, under the head of "War and Marine," the sum of 2,161,896 silver dollars 46 centavos, to which was added 34,452 dollars, of a hanging credit (*credito pendiente*) from the previous year of 1864, and, be it observed, the year before breaking out of the war with Paraguay. These figures prove, that the military idea is still the main pillar of the Argentine Government, to which cotton, corn, wool, and tobacco are made subservient.

The establishment of the Sociedad Rural Argentina

at Buenos Ayres, which came into life on the 16th August, 1866, did a good deal during its existence towards advancing the cause of agricultural industry.\* Equal benefits may be effected through a work compiled by Señor Don Ramon Cavenago, and published under the auspices of the Government of Buenos Ayres, entitled the 'Labrador Argentino,' or Argentine farmer. To the second edition of this book, published in 1867, is prefixed the translation† into Spanish of the United States' Agricultural Report for 1863, a perusal of which, side by side with the facts that we have previously stated in this chapter, may well raise a blush to the face of every Argentine. I trust it may also have the influence of changing the existing system out here of putting off everything till (to-morrow) mañana, or to that more didactically expressed time mentioned by Mr. Maxwell, as described by the Argentine poet, "*los dies que vengán despues*," "the days that are to come hereafter."

Still, fearless of being set down as heretical, I must record my belief, that the Welshmen of Mr. Jones, at Chupat, and the Californians of Mr. Perkins, in the Gran Chaco, will prove the true pioneers of "*labranza Argentina*" (Argentine farming)—the men that can test the practical work of cultivating the soil, as the North Americans have already done. For an example of this latter, let us take a few figures from the Agri-

\* The Sociedad Rural Argentina was, I believe, broken up this year.

† This translation was made by the indefatigable Mr. Daniel Maxwell, of Buenos Ayres, one of a small body of Argentines, including Mr. E. Oliveira, M. Julio Lacroze, and a few more, who dedicate all their energies to "create and foster an industrial spirit" in the Argentine Republic, so as to make it "racy of the soil."

cultural Report before us, in reference to the single article of wheat, from one sole state of Minesotta. "In 1850, the number of acres of land cultivated amounted to 1900; in 1860, it was up to 433,367. In 1850, the number of bushels of wheat gathered was 1401; in 1860, the produce amounted to 5,001,432 bushels."

There cannot be a more cogent illustration of the difference of races, between the republics of North and South America, than the following extract published by the agricultural department of the United States for the year of 1867. Wheat, 232,500,000 bushels; Indian corn, 800,000,000 bushels; rye, 27,000,000 bushels; oats, 230,000,000 bushels; barley, 21,000,000 bushels; buck-wheat, 23,000,000; potatoes, 155,000,000 bushels; butter, 542,000,000 lbs.; cheese, 142,000,000 lbs.; rice, 50,000,000 lbs.; tobacco, 350,000,000 lbs.; cane-sugar, 69,000,000 lbs.; hay, 31,000,000 tons; cotton, 3,500,000 bales. Comparing this return with that of 1860, the year before the war, there is an increase of 30 per cent. in wheat, 30 per cent. in rye, 28 per cent. in oats, 35 per cent. in barley, 27 per cent. in buck-wheat, 40 per cent. in butter, 33 per cent. in cheese, and 150 per cent. in hay; Indian corn, cane-sugar, and cotton, exclusively the produce of the Southern States, show a decrease. In 1860, the cane-sugar crop was 230,982,000 lbs.

As bearing upon this extract, I may state that every single one of the industrial products here enumerated could be produced from the soil of the Argentine Republic. At Paraná, in the province of Entre Rios (lat. 30° 42' 54" S., long. 60° 32' 39" W.), an old Southern planter, Captain Forrest, has proved that the

said district is "as good for the production of cotton and cereals as any part of the Southern States." His experience of three years further enables him to add : \* "The climate is so very well adapted to cotton, and the soil is so rich, that it produces one-third more to the acre than can be grown in Georgia ; the bolls are much larger, and better filled, not subject to mildew or rotting in the lower bolls, as is sometimes the case at home. Some of my cotton grown here has been pronounced in Manchester to be the finest that had been in the market that year (1865). Wheat, tobacco, barley, and oats can all be cultivated here to a most profitable extent ; but our chief want is labour. Give us that, and we can produce any or all of the foregoing in the best of quality and to an unlimited quantity."

The native plough in all the countries bordering the La Plata and Paraná is a crooked, clumsy-shaped piece of Nandubay-wood, having a cylinder-shaped cutting end, tipped with iron. It is drawn by oxen ; and the traction is effected by means of a transverse bar of wood, which is passed over the animals' foreheads and tied around their horns. Indeed, it is by this mode that bullocks draw all locomotives in these countries.

Captain Watson, Secretary of Her Majesty's Legation in Rio de Janeiro, tells us that May or June † is the time for sowing wheat in Patagonia. Maize is sowed at any time of the year, but chiefly in November.

\* In a letter under date of 25th October, 1867, to the Author.

† It is most probably known to my readers, that May or June out here corresponds with August or September in England, inasmuch as they are at the beginning of winter. (Vide Appendix C.)

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

Sydney Smith on Tropical Insects — Our Mosquito Experiences on board the Steamer 'Whiteinch' — The City of Paraná and its Antediluvian Associations — General Aspects of this City — Santa Fé and its *Dolce Far Niente* — Sleepy Characteristics — From Santa Fé upwards — Difference in the Bank River Scenery — El Cerrito — Antonio Thomas — The Balsa, or Floating Timber Raft — The Mirage and its Definition — The Town of La Paz — Island marked by Crosses — The Espinilla, or Guaiquiraro — Garibaldi's Island — Esquina — The Mosquito Plague again — Sailors sleeping in the Cross-trees of Vessels — Desolation of Islands between Esquina and Goya — The Rio San Geronimo — Secrets and Mysteries of the Gran Chaco.

SYDNEY SMITH, in one of his admirable essays, namely, his 'Review of Waterton's Wanderings in South America,' thus writes: "Insects are the curse of tropical climates. The *bête rouge* lays the foundation of a tremendous ulcer. In a moment you are covered with ticks. Chigoes bury themselves in your flesh, and hatch a large colony of young chigoes in a few minutes. They will not live together; but every chigoe sets up a separate ulcer, and has its own private portion of pus. Flies get entry into your mouth, into your eyes, into your nose. You eat flies, drink flies, and breathe flies. Lizards, cockroaches, and snakes get into the bed; ants eat up the books; scorpions sting you in the foot. Everything bites, stings, or bruises. Every second of your existence you are wounded by some piece of animal life, that nobody has ever seen before, except Swammerdam or Meriam. An insect with eleven legs is swimming in

your teacup; a caterpillar with several dozen eyes in his belly is hastening over the bread and butter. All nature is alive, and seems to be gathering all her entomological host to eat you up, as you are standing, out of your coat, waistcoat, and breeches. Such are the tropics. And this reconciles us to our dews, fogs, vapours, and drizzles—to our apothecaries rushing about with tinctures and gargles—to our old British constitutional coughs, sore-throats, and swelled faces.”

Now, although we in the Argentine Republic are some eight or ten degrees outside the southern tropic of Capricorn, we have *satis superque* of such delectabilities as the foregoing. But they are all cast in the shade by mosquitoes, of which, by the way, satirical Mr. Smith says nothing. This is more especially the case in summer-time, and in the neighbourhood of our magnificent river. Here am I, on board the fast and commodious steamer, ‘Whiteinch’ of Glasgow, bound for Corrientes. She is anchored as night comes on between the cities of Paraná and Sante Fé. Her commander, Captain La Blache, is most attentive to my comforts and desires, but he cannot keep away the mosquitoes. In our voyage from Rosario to this, a distance of forty leagues, we anchored last night, the 23rd March, near the convent of San Lorenzo, and had our first mosquito experience of this trip. Every man on board spent the whole of his natural sleeping time in walking to and fro the steamer’s deck; for we were all surrounded and set upon by these blood-suckers. A pig, which was in a small house, forward, passed the hours grunting most piteously, no doubt from mosquito aggravation; a young dog of

Mrs. La Blache's was keening as puppies know well how to do when they are uncomfortable; and the fowls in the coops betrayed, by clacking and fidgeting about, a like consciousness of their proper roosting time being intruded on by a ruthless enemy. Indeed, from the sort of night that was passed by all on board, I have little doubt that if the engine could speak it would have some complaints of the invasion.

But in justice to the Paraná and its pretty river scenery, I must say that mosquito monster-meetings of this kind do not occur there on more than fifteen or twenty nights during the whole year. From the end of April till September, which is winter-time, we have little or none of them.

Before proceeding farther up the river, let us pay a visit to each of the two cities of Santa Fé and Paraná—the former being the capital of the province of that name, at the right side of the Paraná river; and the latter, which is in Entre Rios, on the left side of the same stream, having been from 1854 to 1861 the capital of the whole Argentine Confederation.

Paraná would have about it quite an air of gentility-faded parvenuism were it not for the line of oyster-shell cliffs, by which we turn into its roadstead, and that brings one back in fancy to antedeluvian times. From these cliffs lime is made; and this is the only manufacture of the place. That the sea once existed up here is evident from these shells; but can Dr. Burmeister tell us *when*? Enter the city, and you meet all kinds of counterparts, except those which indicate any tendency to progress. Indeed, the moment you step on shore, you feel at once con-

vinced of being outside the jurisdiction of mosquito, as well as every other kind of activity. The road up to the town is like a series of Khyber Passes, with large gullies and huge paving-stones; the latter being all atop of one another, and loose, in a most humbledy-jumbledy condition. At the middle of this road, or about half-a-mile from the beach, is a huge square pile of walls, with a dome at one end and no roof, yet having vacant spaces for several large windows. This is what was intended for the church of San Pablo (Saint Paul). Here we are on the city level. A theatre nearly as large as the Theatre Royal in Liverpool, and in which there has not been any performance for several years past,—a really elegant and commodious suite of buildings for a Government House, in the Plaza, although having about it the melancholy air of all deserted mansions,\*—a well-constructed and neatly-fitted Camara (Parliament House), wherein the senators and deputies held alternate sittings, when the National Government had its head-quarters here,—a President's palace in front of the Government House, and now, of course unoccupied,—three churches,—a cemetery, very well cared for, outside the town,—these constitute the principal important features of the city. We must not forget that there is a market, unaffected in the slightest degree by rinderpest, in which excellent beef and mutton can be had for from three farthings to a penny per pound; nor that there is an old steam saw-mill,

\* It may not be out of place to mention that the seat of National Government of the Argentine Republic has been removed from Paraná to Buenos Ayres since September, 1861.



doing nothing, with two dilapidated wind-mills helping it. The long, straight, and sloping streets seem like so many *tableaux* for Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village,' inasmuch as the people, whom one meets, have an expression in their faces, as if appealing to your common sense on the absurdity of even seeming to exist under such a distressing condition of affairs.

Five leagues across the river, through channels and between islands, will bring us in a boat or small steamer to Santa Fé. No part of the world that I have yet visited,—although being somewhat of a traveller,—seems to me to possess such a perfection of the *dolce far niente* as this city. By law, all offices, as well as shops for the sale of merchandise, are ordered to be opened from 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Yet from half-past 11 to 1 o'clock is, in fact, the only time of day when access to these places is other than problematical. If your business be with a notary-public (*escribano-publico*), and that nothing more than the signature of his name is required, ten chances to one he will gaze at you over a Maté cup, from which he is sucking yerba tea, and tell you to come mañana (to-morrow). Stopping at an hotel, no surprise will be felt or expressed at your coming in during any hour of the night, or up to five o'clock in the morning. But if you leave your bed between six and seven A.M. with the intention of taking a morning walk, you will be set down as a madman; and this, too, notwithstanding that the time of the day just mentioned is the most agreeable as well as salutary for out-of-door exercise. As early as half-past seven o'clock, the Indian and negro servants, with the washerwomen,

go to mass to the Jesuit's Chapel. A like ceremonial at nine o'clock, in the same place of worship, is attended by the more indolent and aristocratic (chiefly the female) portion of the community. Breakfast lasts from ten to eleven, or a little after, when something almost too dreamy to be called business is begun, and this is terminated at one o'clock. Then, after, a *Maté* siesta-time comes on, which continues to 4 P.M.; and whilst this lasts, no one is supposed to be walking the streets except dogs and Englishmen.\* After siesta (and in summer-time especially) nearly half the population of the town go to bathe in a branch of the *Paraná*, having a sandy bottom, that flows at the distance of about 300 yards from the "Plaza Principal,"—the chief city-square. At five o'clock comes dinner-time, and at seven another service in the Jesuit Church. To this latter succeed lotteries, dancing-parties (or *tertulias*), more imbibing from a *Maté* cup, cigarita-smoking, with, perhaps, a little strolling about for visiting purposes. The dancing-parties are often kept up till day-break; and indeed here, as well as elsewhere, may be said to constitute the chief features of Argentine liveliness, excepting, of course, the mosquitoes. Such is the general character of life in Santa Fé. So that this city may be considered, without any aspersion, to be the place whence originated the 'Legend of the Sleepy Hollow.' For even the clock of the *Matriz* (parish) church seems to partake of the prevailing somnolence; as when it comes to the meridian or midnight, it occupies what appears to the unaccus-

\* This is a calumny on the Argentine dogs, and may be credited to our countrymen alone.

tomed ear from five to ten minutes' stretch to strike out the hour.\*

Ascending the river after our return to the roadstead of Paraná city, the appearance of San Pablo Church, as viewed from our steamer's deck, is very fine; its pillared portico and dome having quite an attractive aspect. But as we had been within its roofless and windowless walls, it is nothing more than a Dead Sea apple to us now. We coast along by the high cliffs, past the Saladero of Señor Carbo, and skirt the mouth of Las Conchas river, which falls into the Paraná at a distance of about five leagues above the city of the last name. Then by some more high cliffs, on the level ground, behind which I recognize several houses of the German emigrants in the colony of Villa de Urquiza.

A remarkable difference in the character of the river-bank scenery is observed as we go along. In Buenos Ayres and Santa Fé provinces, where we find lofty banks, they are invariably perpendicular; whereas in Entre Rios province, by which we are now passing, they are bluff, sloping, and raviney. As we proceed, the country, where visible behind the bank, is glistening in verdant plains, alternating with luxuriant woods. But no sign of humanity,—of cows, horses, sheep, or

\* "Better late than never!" Santa Fé city seems to be awakening! In 'El Tiempo' of January 12, 1867, the only paper published here, is an advertisement about the opening of a coffee-house, entitled the 'Café de Progreso,' the first that was ever opened in the city, according to the following extract from part of this notice. The landlord says:—"My energies will be sufficiently remunerated by receiving the patronage of the city of Santa Fé, for the *first establishment* of this kind that has been opened in this capital, from the period of its first foundation to the present day.—PEDRO ECHAQUE."

other living thing, biped or quadruped,—is apparent anywhere.

Ten leagues above Paraná city we come to a small bight in the river, and hence can be seen the house,—a large whitewashed one,—on the estancia of El Cerrito (the little hill)—a farm of thirty-six leagues in extent, which belonged to an Englishman who died a few years ago at Monte Video. A small stream, without a name, and not mentioned in any chart, flows into the Paraná river here. At the distance of a few leagues farther on is another little rivulet, equally nameless (so our pilot tells me); and on the bank contiguous to, as well as about 60 feet above, is a rancho, or small cottage, inhabited by a wood-cutter. There is no appearance of rock, as we proceed, save occasionally, low down on the beach, the petrified toska, which in many places presents the appearance of a honeycomb.

The district of Antonio Thomas is passed at eighteen leagues from Paraná. Plenty of cattle are on the plains here; for we are now coming into the milk and cheese country. Washed clothes, drying on the shrubs about the few houses, become also evidences of our being still within the limits of civilization; for the institution of washing is not yet familiar with, nor relishable to, the Indian or Gaucho mind.

To-day (24th of March), we met and passed one of the floating rafts of timber, styled in Spanish "*Balsa*,"\* with a family of men, women, children, and dogs on board. These rafts consist chiefly of timber for corals and for firewood, being sold at Paraná, Rosario,

\* The Guarani-Indian name for this is *Angada*.

San Nicholas, or one or other of the towns lower down the river. As a violent storm came on soon after we went by this arborescent ship, I was very anxious to know the fate of passengers and crew; for I am informed that such floating platforms are fastened together with cords of hide, in a very careless manner.

On the river as we ascend, we frequently see a mirage, which is explained in 'Webster's Dictionary' as "an optical illusion, arising from an unequal refraction in the lower strata of the atmosphere, and causing remote objects to be seen double, as if reflected in a mirror, or to appear as if suspended in the air." This is a perfectly accurate description; for now in front, and on the horizon's boundary, the trees on islands, and the river craft, seem as though they were floating in the atmosphere.

At three leagues south of La Paz there is a small stream, the Arroyo Seco (dry little river), which here debouches into the Paraná. No variety of vegetation or of landscape features as we ascend; but autumn tints are everywhere.

La Paz has the appearance of a good-sized, comfortable town as we approach. It is built on a slope—the summit of which in the background is about 200 feet above the level of the river. The first thing that strikes one's notice is a large, square, walled-in cemetery. The Captain of the Port's residence on the beach, which faces the north, is a very fine house. One league higher up is a small island, dotted over with crosses—marking the graves of many Brazilians who died and were buried here about six months ago, when their squadron, then on its way to fight the Para-

guayans, was anchored at this place. Farther on we pass many sailing vessels (laden with coals and other supplies for the Brazilians), that are aground, owing to the shallowness of water in the river at this time of the year.

Steaming away, we soon arrive opposite the Espinilla, or Guaiquiraro\* river, that here divides the province of Entre Rios from that of Corrientes. At its mouth is an island, named after the Italian hero, Garibaldi, who on this spot had a tremendous fight with the celebrated Irishman, Admiral Brown, when the latter was in the service of Buenos Ayres. Garibaldi's schooner was aground at the time that he was attacked by the Admiral with three vessels; but he fought, as he always does, like a brave man,—cutting up his ship's chains for shot when the latter was expended. He sustained the fight during one whole day; and then, having no more ammunition to combat against superior numbers, he, along with his crew, abandoned the schooner,—retreating, when night came on, to the town of Esquina, in the province of Corrientes, and ten leagues above the mouth of the Guaiquiraro. On the evening of the day that we passed Garibaldi's Island, we anchored opposite Esquina, which is situated about a league inside the main stream. The communication from the Paraná to Esquina is made by the river Corrientes, which is said to have its source in the great lake Ibera, of which more hereafter. At the southern corner of Corrientes river-mouth is a small wooden house,

\* This is a Guarani (Indian) title, and means "the house of the fat boy." *Guai*, boy, *quíra*, fat, and *ro* or *rogo*, house.

erected on posts, and which serves as a waiting-place for passengers bound up and down the river by the packet steamers.

Every night since we started the mosquito plague has been as unbearable, as it is indescribable. In spite of a curtain protecting my sleeping berth, they get inside—serenading and phlebotomizing me till morning. I am told by Captain La Blache that up this river there is something of the bird or bat species—called the Mosquito Hawk—which often come in hundreds round a ship, and feed on those little wretches. How I should hail a countless army of them now! But they won't appear!—I suppose by that perversity amongst policemen and other bipeds,—because they are needed. In some of the river-craft, either at anchor or fastened to trees on the islands, I can see the sailors, like so many cherubs perched up aloft, tied by the arms and legs to the cross-trees of the masts, and determined to remain there all night; for in no other way can they escape the dreadful plague.

All our voyage from La Paz to Esquina, and thence up to Goya,—a distance of 135 miles,—is amongst low, marshy islands, on some of which, however, lofty trees abound. But the desolation and silence of these islands are appalling. No noise of bird, or beast, or living thing; so that the war-scream of a wild Indian, or the howl of a tiger, would be a relief to the sameness and monotony of the whole day long. Bright yellow and scarlet flowers are frequently seen, glistening, as it were, on the vivid green network of convolvuli that embrace the tree-trunks. Now and

then a lazy carpincha,—a sort of amphibious pig,—casts a sleepy glance at us from an islet's bank, as the sound of our paddle-wheels disturbs his slumbers, and mayhap a solitary crane or carancha (the vulture hawk) flits across our bows. Yet these seem but mockeries of life, to make the solitude more desolating, like that species of light, which serves only to render darkness visible. The sun pours down its fiercest rays on the muddy waters that are unruffled save by the steamer's motion, and thus adds to the general oppressiveness. On several of the islands are skeleton trees, stripped of their leaves, bark, and branches, which have been destroyed by the noxious ordure of a carnivorous bird called the Bigwa (the turkey-buzzard, I believe) that roosts on them at night. Bunches of the tall guinea grass seem at a distance to resemble white houses; but as one approaches, and recognizes what they are, there is, in the disappointment, a culmination of the depressing influences, which the whole scenery is calculated to produce.

March 27th.—Last night our steamer was anchored opposite the lower mouth of the Rio San Jeronimo (the river of Saint Jerome), in a part of the Paraná adjoining the Chaco district of Yaguaraté, and about eight leagues below Goya. The Saint Jerome has its source in, and flows through, the Gran Chaco,—a region of which I have been informed many people would like to know the secrets and mysteries. As I have been, in my former travels, through several hundred miles of it, I shall tell you all about them.

Although no striking scenes of picturesque beauty are to be met with in the Gran Chaco, still there are



associations connected with exploration therein, that render it very interesting. It scarcely needs to be recorded, that this interest is much more agreeable in remembrance, than in its actual existence. "First amongst the first" is the consciousness of being an intruder on the Indian's territory, and with it a feeling of which even the bravest cannot divest himself—that at any moment in the day or night, he may hear the Indian war-whoop, and before he can say "Jack Robinson," be scalped by these merciless barbarians. The Gran Chaco is a magnificent field for the botanist, as its vegetable riches have not yet been explored by any scientific hand. But the Indian, without ever having read a page of Linnæus, knows the herbs that serve for his condiments, as well as those that conduce to the cure of his diseases.

Everything to be met with in the Gran Chaco speaks of its savagery, and tends to scare one. The relics of Toldas (Indian huts) seen here, there, and everywhere; the troops of wild horses; the frequent flitting-by of ostriches; the screams of the parrot and carancha; the twittering at night of millions of chattering insects; the desolate appearance of large, whitish plains of salt or saltpetre, where once water had been; and the absence of anything like a purling stream, are its chief noticeable characteristics. In the profound stillness of the woods, where you take shelter from the almost tropical heat of a mid-day sun, you can find life under your feet in numerous ant-colonies, in the burrows of Biscachas (the Chaco rabbit), or in the occasional presence of a beaver or armadillo. Now and then you are conscious of an aguara—the South

American tapir—looking at you through the branches, with an inquisitive though listless gaze, as if he wanted to know what business you had to come uninvited to his dominions. And however enthusiastic you may have been about the noble red man of the Gran Chaco, or that sort of thing, you cannot avoid turning your back on his plains and woods without the impression that the most agreeable part of your visit to this portion of South America is the security of "*being out of it.*"

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Specimens of Palm Trees — Large Green Flies — Entrance to Goya — Rincon de los Sotos (or Fool's Corner) — Mr. Lafone's Saladero — Pious Memorial of a Brazilian Arm — The Red Man's Point — Cuevos Battery and the two Points of Babila — Bella Vista and its Orange Groves — Islands of the Gran Chaco — Cimbolar and San Antonio River — Empedrado and Mercedes — Wreck of 'Marques de Olinda' Steamer — Great Naval Battle at Riachuelo — Corrientes Roadstead — From Corrientes upwards — Colony of Saint Anna — Amadé Bonpland — Las Tres Bocas — Paco de la Patria, and Fort Itapiru — A Paraguayan Chata — Visit to the Brazilian and Argentine Encampments — Beauty of Park-like Grove — Narrow Escape — Dreadful Heat — Sudden Change of Temperature.

SOME of the islands, by which we are steaming to-day, are perfect masses of arborescent vegetation, amongst which is that "prince of the vegetable world," as Swainson styles it, the palm-tree. But the specimens, that we find on these islands, are neither so lofty nor so graceful, as those I have seen in Africa. The mosquitoes have been entirely absent for the last two nights. We are now met by some flies, with dark green bodies, and small black heads, that stick themselves into any exposed part of our flesh, and, if allowed to do so, suck our blood. The head is bent down to the work with the earnestness of a devoted student, or mechanic, whilst the posterior part is elevated, thus giving to the little beast the semblance of a ship on her beam-ends.

At the entrance to Goya by a small branch of the Paraná—this town being, like Esquina, at the

distance of about a league interior to the main river,—there is a small square house of the Swiss chalet fashion, used for the same purposes as that at Esquina, namely as a resting-place for the passengers by the packet steamers. A large island, some few leagues higher up, and on the right side of the steamer as we go along, has on it the ruins of a number of small huts, that were occupied by the refugees from Corrientes, Bella Vista, Goya, and Santa Lucia, when the Paraguayans invaded this province last year. We find a very striking evidence of the invasion, when, dropping anchor for the night, we go on shore to the saladero of Mr. Samuel Lafone of Monte Video. This establishment is contiguous to a point of land, bearing the name of Rincon de los Sotos (Fool's Corner). Twelve months past, and on two successive days of holy week (as we are in at present), Mr. Lafone had 1500 head of cattle killed here,—slaughtered for their meat, hides, and fat. At that time there were nearly 500 of the neighbouring Gaucho peons kept in constant employment at this saladero; but now all business is suspended, and the place is seemingly hastening to ruin. Floating on the river here, in front of the chief landing-place, is a little Chinese pagoda-looking house, that was used as a bathing-machine by the former superintendent. The country behind the saladero is undulating, and at the distance of five to six miles directly eastward is the town of Santa Lucia.

Whilst we were staying at the saladero, a curiosity, preserved by one of the care-takers, was exhibited to us. It was a human arm, as dried and shrivelled as the limb of an Egyptian mummy; and

which had been shot off between the elbow and shoulder—very probably an arm of one of the sufferers in the naval battle at the Riachuelo, last June. Picked up a short time previously by two of the care-taker's sons, on a sand-bank, opposite the place, when the boys were seeking for eggs of some class of river-birds, their father regarded it as a kind of pious memorial. The letters M. R. were tinted by means of stamping-ink into the flesh a few inches above the wrist, and over these were punctured the Brazilian arms,—thus showing the nation to which the owner belonged. When the Paraguayans visited this saladero, they threw over the cliff some few hundred tons of coals—although this was known to be the private property of Mr. Lafone—in order that it might not fall into the hands of the Argentines or Brazilians.

March 29th.—Deliciously cool weather this morning with orange groves about, and flocks of green parrots flying across the river. Steaming up from the saladero, the Paraná here stretches out into a noble expanse, as we approach the Punto del Rubio (Red Man's Point), which is a bluff cliff of about 120 feet high—two leagues, or thereabouts, above our starting-point. Here the main channel is comparatively contracted by an island abutting into it from the opposite side. Above this it expands again; when half-a-league higher up, we have the Punto de las Tunas (Point of the Cactus-fruit). Having passed this last-named, we again cross over towards the Gran Chaco. On one of the islands in this passage there is a rookery, over which the crows are cawing and caracolling as they do at home. What curious reminiscences and

associations, to be sure, are stirred up in one's mind by an incident like this in a far-off river of South America. Two leagues from the Punto de las Tunas, we have the Punto de Babila Abajo (Lower Babel Point), and half-a-league farther on is the Punto de Babila Arriba (Upper Babel Point). Between these two stood the celebrated Cuevos battery, from which a deadly fire was poured on the Brazilian and Argentine fleets, when passing down here, by the Paraguayans. This was on the 12th August, in last year (1865). It derives the name of Cuevos, from the land belonging to a Señor Cuevos. The position is an admirable one for commanding the passage up or down the river; for every vessel must go within 30 or 40 yards of the shore. And the bank is from 60 to 80 feet high.

Perhaps it was the distance at which we passed from it—our progress in this neighbourhood being amongst the islands, which approximate the Gran Chaco—and the impossibility of getting a good view, that caused me not to appreciate the title of Bella Vista (Pretty Sight) as we steamed by the town of that name. The land on which it is situated appears much more elevated than any we have as yet seen; and of course, in this respect, may be considered pretty or beautiful. It contains a scattered population, but of whose extent no casual glimpse like this could give us an idea, and a considerable number of white houses. Amongst the arborescence I recognize a profusion of orange groves, which must have a very attractive appearance in a month or two, when their fruit shall arrive at its golden colour.

From in front of Bella Vista we voyage upwards for three leagues amongst the islands of the Gran Chaco,—no life being visible anywhere outside our steamer, save in the few river-craft that are passing up and down. Anchor was dropped for the night opposite Cimbolar, about three leagues south of the San Antonio river, near which the Brazilian fleet remained stationary for several weeks after the battle of Riachuelo. Here, too, a great mortality prevailed at the time amongst their troops, chiefly from measles and small-pox.

March 30th.—Again visited by the mosquitoes last night, although, thank God, in sensibly-diminished numbers. By Empedrado and Mercedes we thence pass the point of Pekajo, from which a body of Paraguayans, with their artillery, fired, on the 18th June last, on the Brazilian war-steamer 'Belmonte,'—killing her commander and several of the crew. At this point, as at Cuevos, steamers require to go almost under the very bank, which is here about 20 feet above the river's level. Opposite, and on the other side of the beach, is the wreck of the Brazilian steamer 'Marques de Olinda,' which was in possession of the Paraguayans when she was destroyed. About half-a-league up, and near the Corrientes shore, is a very small oval islet, covered with dense and lofty brushwood, that might serve as a jolly residence for Hamadryades. On another island, close to the Chaco side, we saw several houses that are inhabited by wood-cutters, and amongst them a hammock, suspended beneath the trees, with the luxury of a mosquito-curtain. The Sombrero (Hat) and Sombrerito (Little Hat) points

are passed; and we come to the bay in front of Riachuelo, where the great naval battle of June 11th last was fought. The entrance into this is very narrow, and a rapid current is met here. To its centre flows, by two mouths, the small river Riachuelo; and at its upper end lies the only signal we have of a contest ever having taken place here,—namely, the wreck of a large Brazilian war-steamer ‘Jequinhonha,’ which grounded on a sandbank during the fight. Rounding the point of El Peludo (the Treeless), and skirting along the Isla de Palomeras (Island of Pigeons), anchor is dropped in Corrientes Roadstead at ten o’clock on Good Friday morning.

On our arrival I found that the Brazilian fleet, under Admiral Visconde Tamandare, had proceeded upwards to the Paso de la Patria (Pass of the Country), in order to effect the crossing over of the allied armies into Paraguayan territory. This pass is from the side of Corrientes Province over the Paraná to the opposite coast of Paraguay; and there the river is more than two miles wide. Therefore having come so far to see what was to be seen, I proceeded upwards in the Argentine steamer ‘Uruguay.’

The river from Corrientes for a few leagues has the same expanse of water and thickly-wooded islands that we have passed lower down. At about four miles above the city lies the Isla de la Mesa (Table Island), and half-a-league farther on is a house on the beach, pointing out the position of a French agricultural colony that was tried to be established here in 1855 by Dr. Brougues, and which turned out a signal failure. The celebrated French botanist, Monsieur



Amadé Bonpland, resided here for some time. But of Monsieur Bonpland I have more to say when we go back to Corrientes city. The capital of this colony was called Saint Anna. It was situated on the ruins of an old town entitled Guacaras, from the name of the Indian tribe who dwelt there in former times. To its roadstead was given the long-winded epithet of "San-Juan-del-Puerto-de-Santa-Anna" (Saint John of the Port of Saint Ann). Half-a-league farther on we pass by the Itakay, which is one of the outlets of the river Paraguay—a divergence from the main stream of that river, as our pilot tells me, about a league-and-a-half below the fort of Curipatay and two leagues above the Tres Bocas. The channel of Itakay bounds a sort of triangular island of the same name, which has one of the Bocas (or mouths) to its opposite side, and the river Paraná flowing at its base. A few leagues above the Itakay opening we come to the embouchure into the Paraná of the Paraguay river, and this is known as the Tres Bocas (Three Mouths), because two small islands, that exist at the point of exit, divide its waters into three outlets.

On the Paraguayan side of the Paraná, and about five miles upwards from the Tres Bocas, is the so-called fort of Itapiru, contiguous to which the allied armies are to pass over in a few days, as soon as all arrangements are made for the important movement. To how many will this passage be like that over the fabled banks of Styx,—of which the exile was eternal? This is a question I repeated to myself many a time to-day, whilst looking at the preparations going on around; but it is one that could only

be answered by HIM to whom the book of futurity lies open.

Itapiru is no fort, in the common acceptation of the word ; for it consists of a breastwork of clay and stones, about 20 yards in length, on which two 48-pounder guns and a mortar are mounted, a small *rancho* (hut), a galpon, or shed, of like dimensions, and a flag-staff, on which the Paraguayan banner is mounted. This resembles the Dutch, in being composed of three horizontal stripes — red, white, and blue,—arranged in a manner directly the reverse of that in which they are placed in the ensign of Holland. The bank of coast between Itapiru and the Tres Bocas consists of apparently impenetrable bush, and trees of an average height. The fleet here has a very imposing appearance,—consisting of monitors, ironclads, gunboats, and transport-steamers, of whose numerical or cannonading strength I confess my ignorance. By far the largest part of them are Brazilians.

On one day during my stay here I went aboard a Paraguayan Chata, that was alongside a Brazilian war-steamer ; and as this (the Chata) had been in the fight of the Riachuelo, I was curious about seeing it. In construction, the shape resembled an English canal barge, except that it is more gracefully tapering at the ends, and not so long, whilst at each extremity is a rudder, as I have seen in the steamers that ply between Liverpool and Woodside. The top of its bulwark is only 18 inches over the water. Being flat-bottomed, it must have a very shallow draught of water. In its centre, the deck has a depression of a foot in depth, within a circle, that permits a brass

swivel, whereon a 48-pounder gun is turned to any point of the compass, which the commander may desire. The whole length of the craft is but 18 feet, and there is no protection for the crew. During my stay at Paso de la Patria, one of these Chatas attacked two large Brazilian monitors. The Chata had only ten men on board. Yet they managed to send a 48-pounder shot through a port-hole of the monitor 'Tamandare,' killing four officers and wounding fourteen or fifteen men. I was told by the admiral, Visconde Tamandare, that one of the officers was cut right in the middle, as if he had been sliced in two with a scythe. This extensive destruction by a single ball may be attributed to the fact, that the opening, by which it entered, was blocked up with chains; and these, thus smashed into small bits, served as so much canister or grape-shot in their deadly effects.

I went on shore to-day (April the 4th) and visited part of the Brazilian as well as Argentine camps. In the latter I passed a short time at the tent of the Commander-in-Chief, Brigadier-General Don Bartolomé Mitre, President of the Argentine Republic. His Excellency speaks hopefully of the speedy termination of the war, an opinion in which I regret that I cannot coincide. The President's encampment is in a very pretty little orange grove—perfectly impenetrable to the sun's rays. From this I strolled through one of the prettiest groves I have ever visited, where pheasants, woodcock, and other birds of magnificent plumage abound. The trees are of the tallest, and the brushwood, the densest of any that I have seen in South America. Besides the tents for soldiers and

officers, the latter have had cut for them out of the thick shrubberies retiring and reception rooms, resembling so many summer houses. In some of these, the lounging hammocks, suspended from branch to branch, present a very picturesque appearance.

To prove how little is known of this country's peculiarities, I was informed to-day that the Brazilians on their march hither came up to a pool, or small lake that was narrow and deep, into which some of them went to bathe. But they were no sooner in, than they jumped out directly; for the water was almost boiling hot. About the exact position of this hot-spring I could learn no more, than that it was some five leagues to the eastward of where we are now. That this portion of Corrientes province is of volcanic origin I have little doubt; for along the shore at Paso de la Patria as well as down at the capital, large boulders of basalt exist in profusion.

Nothing can exceed the beauty of the park-like grove in the neighbourhood of Paso de la Patria on the Corrientes side. I rode through it this evening in company with Colonel Nelson, and could have feasted for hours on its charms, only that we were within range of the Paraguayan 48-pounders and bomb-shells, likely to salute us at any moment from the opposite fort of Itapiru. Now and then emerging from a pathway we come upon spaces of bright green grass, reminding us of those glades,—“opening as if to afford a playground for the sunshine,”—of which the poet Moore writes in his ‘Epicurean.’ At the north side of the Pass point here, is a perfect cove-like little bay, of from 400 to 500 yards in extent. Opposite

to this, and extending to nearly a league northwards, appears the encampment of the Paraguayan army; and a white-washed house was pointed out to me as the residence of Field-Marshal President Lopez. On the second day after we had passed, and on the very spot, where I stopped for a few minutes' observation with Colonel Nelson, two Argentine soldiers were killed by the falling and bursting of a bombshell, fired across from Itapiru. One of the men had his head taken off, the chin and whiskers being left; whilst the other was struck dead by a large piece of shell in the back, as he turned to run away.

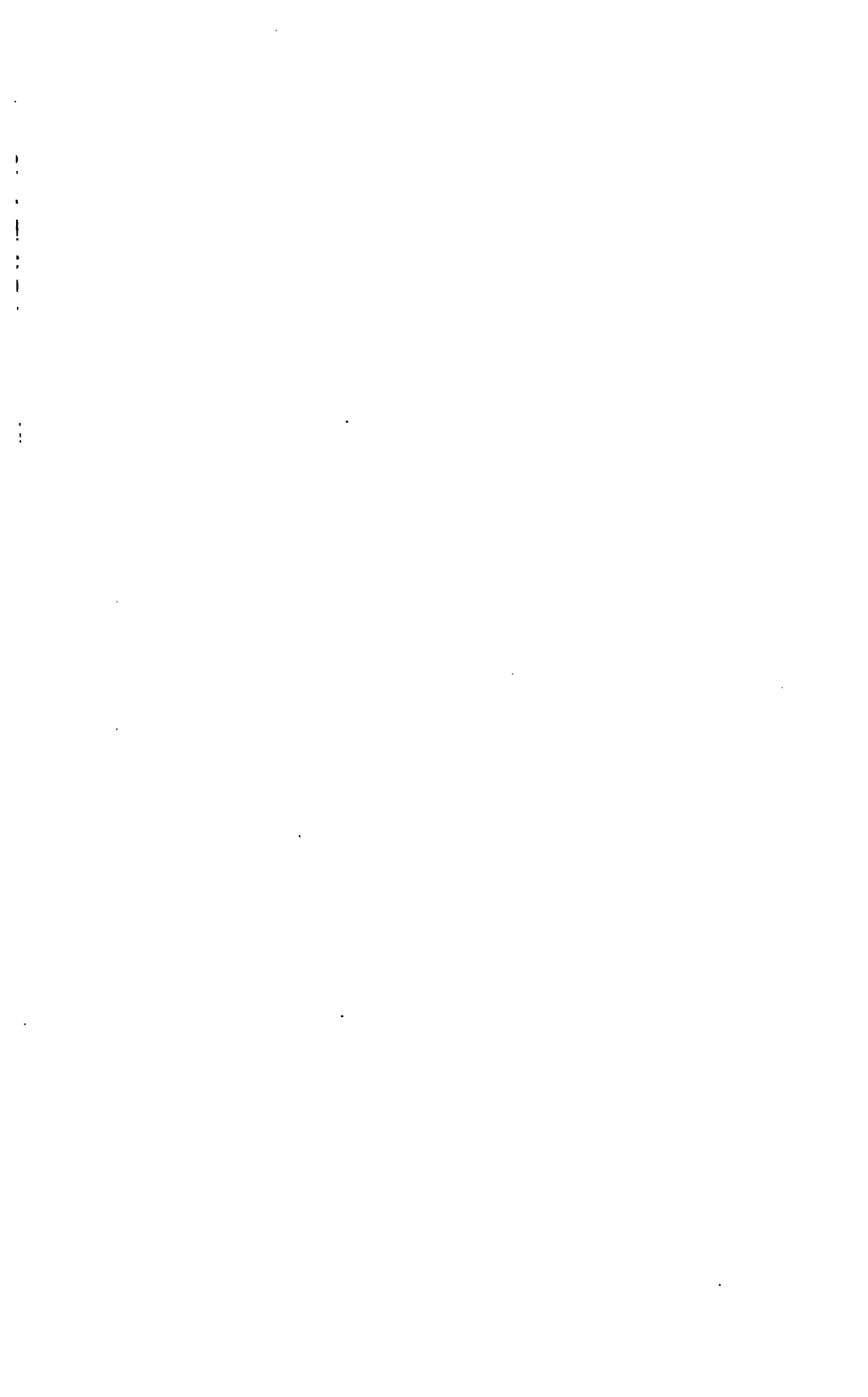
April 5th.—The heat of climate *may* be very unendurable in India or Africa; but the roasting, toasting ardour, which we have to-day in front of Paso de la Patria, is a thing under which a salamander could scarcely exist. Somebody has written of the comfort of being able, if it were possible, whilst in a tropical country, to shake off your flesh, and sit in your bones for coolness. I have heard of parts of the world, too, though never have been in any of them, where the summer suit consists of a straw hat, and a pair of straps, relieved by a shirt-collar and toothpick on Sundays; but if there be a more torrid spot in creation than this is to-day, I pray to God to keep me out of it. Little consolation it is to know, that the sun is now in the equinox; yet it is some comfort, as evening approaches, to observe the lowering atmosphere and gathering clouds, that presage a thunderstorm. And a right, good, rattling tornado it was, when it did come,—of rain, wind, lightning, and thunder. People in England will scarcely believe it, but I vouch

the truth on my own observation, that on the succeeding morning there was a fall of 33 degrees in Fahrenheit's thermometer, and that the air was not only cool, but as bracingly cold as it often is during the month of March in the old country at home.

At this time the official returns gave—of troops on the spot ready to pass over:—

Brazilians .. .. .	40,000
Argentines .. .. .	18,000
Oriental .. .. .	4,000
	<hr/>
	62,000

The grand total being supposed to finish the war with Paraguay as soon as they crossed the river Paraná.





Corrientes Roadstead.



## CHAPTER XXX.

First Noises of South American Cities — Ancient Spanish Treatise on the Ringing of Bells — Notions of Corrientine old Ladies *in re* Geography of the Sea — Appearance of the Capital from the River — The Government House — General Aspect of the City — Post Office and Theatre — Orange Orchards — The Plaza Principal — View from Tower of Cabildo — The Market-place, and Indian Confectionery — Old Houses, and motley Population — Fish in the River, and promiscuous Bathing on the Beach — Excessive Modesty of Female Bathers — Harmony of Colours in a Gaucho's dress — Albert Smith's story of Mr. Brown — Amado Bonpland at Corrientes — His Herbarium of 3000 Plants — His Letter to Governor Pujol — Fame in South America.

IN nearly all South American towns, the first noises, which attract the attention of a stranger, are the sounding of bugles and ringing of bells. It occurs to me that the latter practice may owe its origin to the dogmas of Frater Johannes Drabicuis, who in his book 'De Cœlo et Cœlesti Statu,' printed at Mentz in A.D. 1718, employs 425 pages to prove that the occupation of the blessed in heaven will be the "perpetual ringing of bells." Before sunrise bells and bugles are vibrating at Corrientes; and during the whole day long, the music of both is repeated at intervals—too often, I regret to say, in a most distressing tone of discordance.

Previous to my first visit to Corrientes, I had been informed that there were some old ladies here, whose notions of what Lieutenant Maury calls the "Geography of the Sea" were very limited. For

even after steamers began to come up, they believed the mail and other vessels sailed out from England in the same fashion as the river craft effected their passages upwards from Buenos Ayres, namely, by stopping every night alongside an island, to which their ship was made fast by securing a hawser round a tree. This article of faith made me imagine that the city must present a very primitive appearance.

I was, therefore, agreeably disappointed with my first view of Corrientes from the roadstead. Two venerable-looking churches—the Matriz and San Francisco,—with the Moorish tower of the Cabildo (where the judicial offices exist), first attracted my attention. Then a number of brown sloping roofs,—a very unusual thing in Spanish American cities, where nearly all the housetops are flat,—gave quite an air of quaintness to the place. On the beach at the south end are half-a-dozen tanneries. The leather manufactured here, with dry and wet hides, timber of various kinds (chiefly from the Gran Chaco), and oranges in their season, constitute the exports.

My first visit on shore was made to the Government House to visit his Excellency Governor Lopez.\* This contains the Governor's and Ministers' offices, with the Provincial Bank and Custom House. It is situated in the building, which was formerly erected and established as a college by the Jesuits. Its chief front faces Tucuman Street, and over the main entrance is a shield, having painted thereon the arms of the republic. Inside is a square cuadra—150 yards each side,—on which there is a smooth green sward

\* No relation, be it understood, save in name, to the Lopez of Paraguay.

of the finest grass. Indeed, all through the streets of Corrientes, this herbage, called *Gramilla*, or *pasto tierne*, is found everywhere. The square just mentioned has four corridors, clinging to the wooden pillars of which are growing up white and red rose-trees, as well as scarlet and purple convolvuli flowers. In two other cuadras, which adjoin, are troops and stores.

The ground of this city is undulating like that of Paraná. In the same street as the Post Office, and nearly opposite to it, is the theatre, of whose inside I saw nothing but the roof, which is visible through the broken windows. This roof is made of wood, and in every 6 or 8 inches square is an opening, that lets the light of heaven permeate distinctly,—thus reminding one of Sam Weller's "ventilation gossamer" on a very large scale. The streets resemble those of Cordoba, being so sandy, that in wet weather there can be little or no mud. Occasionally we see blocks of basaltic rock cropping up. Nearly every house has an orange orchard attached to it; and the fruit from these forms a very important item of the exports.

In the principal Plaza are two churches,—the Matriz and Merced, with the Cabildo, and a few private houses. For, although it is a very considerably sized square, all the ground has not been built upon. Opposite the Cabildo is a large gloomy prison-looking house, with a bright green door, where, I am told, resides Doctor Santiago Derqui, who was President of the Argentine Confederation at the time of Urquiza's fall. On each side of the Plaza is a single

palm-tree (very blighted in appearance), of the *Palma Palmifera* species. In the centre is a statue of Liberty on a lofty column, and at each corner of the pillar's base is a bust. These four heads represent Belgrano, San Martin, Alviar, and Lavallol,—heroes of the struggle for Argentine independence. The Plaza, too, has in it the Matriz and Merced churches, the latter of which contains an organ, that was made by an Italian priest, with the assistance of a native blacksmith.

Before leaving the neighbourhood, I ascended to the tower of the Cabildo, in order to have a view of the surroundings. This edifice was erected in 1812 by Deputy-Governor Luzuriaga, and is now, as it has always been, used for offices by the judge of crime, the civil and commercial judges, and the Gefe Politico, or chief magistrate. To the north-east of the city is a very extensive and imposing looking church, with a dome of blue porcelain tiles, that is dedicated to our Lady of Rosario. The absence of window-frames, as well as of glass, shows that it is not yet finished. The erection of this church was commenced ten years ago; and some of the scaffolding still about it has remained since that time. On the borders of the town to the south-east, is the church of El Milagro de la Cruz (the miracle of the Cross), and adjoining it is the public cemetery. Seen from this height, Corrientes may be called "the city of orange groves."

The market-place has a galpon, or shed, resembling an African palaver house in being open at both ends. It is about 50 yards in length, and contains chiefly meat; but outside are heaps of maize, sugar-cane,

sweet potatoes, melons, gourds, and most uninviting sort of saccharine confectionery, that resembles too much the colour of its Indian vendors for any stranger to venture on it. Still walking through the town, I observe that the brown roofs, noticeable from our steamer's deck, are constructed from the trunks of palm-trees split longitudinally, and so placed in juxtaposition, as to have their convex sides upwards. But many of these houses seem to me admirably adapted to such a hot climate as we have here, indeed much better than the azotea, or flat-roofed residences. For the former have wide corridors to the outward walls, beneath which one can sit at any time of the day, and be thus protected from the scorching sun.

In the streets of this city you meet at the present time\* a most motley population, — Englishmen, Frenchmen, Yankees, Italians, Germans, Argentine Gauchos, and the denizens of the Gran Chaco. The last-named,—chiefly of the Guaicarus and Mocovi tribes,—come across from their wild woods to sell grass for cattle; for there is no Alfalfa (South American clover), on which the animals are fed elsewhere, cultivated in Corrientes. The Chaco grass is very coarse, being quite as large as a wheat-stalk. It is nevertheless said to be very nutritious, and that the horses feed on it with great avidity. I saw one of these Indian women,—an old one too,—near the market-place, picking out of some offal a few grains of maize—no doubt a material for the poor creature's breakfast.

\* This was in April, 1866, when the allied armies of Brazil, Argentine Republic, and Uruguay were about crossing the Paraná into Paraguayan territory.

During our stay at Corrientes the sailors on board the 'Whiteinch' caught a large quantity of fish, some of them resembling the English salmon. Two species of these taken were the Dorado and the Paku, both excellent for eating. The latter is said by its presence to be the invariable precursor of the river-water rising,—a thing very much needed at the present time. The Dorado, as its name indicates, is of a golden colour. Both are plump and fat. These two kinds of fish are plentiful in all parts of the river, from Monte Video upwards.

In summer-time the simultaneous bathing of both sexes on the beach here seems as much a thing *au fait* as the same practice at Pornic and Croisic in France. I met several of the fair sex at the houses of friends in town,—ladies who were intelligent as they were handsome,—and that is no small praise, I assure you. On one day of my visit to the Brazilian Military Hospital, whither I went in a small boat, kindly lent to me by Captain Newlands, of the English steamer 'Brazil,' a number of washerwomen as well as women bathing were on the strand,—some of them both young and pretty. I had heard from former visitors to this part of the world, that the bearing of the sex under such circumstances of comparative exposure was anything but what female modesty would dictate. Yet I saw nothing save the most perfect propriety of demeanour,—in some amounting to a very perceptible bashfulness as our boat approached them.

My application to the chief officer of the Custom House for an account of the exports from this place during the last few years, was unsuccessful in obtaining

any information on this point; for I was told, that in the present all-engrossing state of war affairs, such a thing was impossible to be procured.

As I came out of the Custom House I met a Gaucho, whose appearance would give a thrilling sensation to any one of very refined ideas about the harmony of colours. A man with a very profuse and very red whisker,—a pink cravat,—a fancy pattern shirt, in which the prevailing hue was green,—a light-blue calico trousers and top-boots, with very wide tops of the brightest yellow! He only wanted a white hat and crimson gloves to make him a perfect Guy.

Every day's walking through Corrientes brought more and more vividly to my mind a story which I remember to have heard told by the late Albert Smith in one of his inimitable evenings at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. On a trip of his up the Rhine he met a Mr. Brown,—a gentleman belonging to that class of English tourists who go everywhere,—who told Mr. Smith of the many places he had visited since their last meeting. Amongst other noticeable locales, he had been at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Mr. Smith questioned him as to his opinion of these cities; and the only impression which they seemed to have made was, that they were “sadly in want of repair!” I am very much inclined to think, that if Mr. Brown visited Corrientes in the year of grace eighteen hundred and sixty-six, he would place that city in the same category as Pompeii and Herculaneum.

The saddest recollection of my visit to Corrientes is that connected with the inquiries I made about the distinguished French botanist, M. Amadé Bonpland,

and having ascertained that he is almost forgotten in the place. Every one knows, that he was the friend and fellow-traveller of the illustrious philosopher, Baron Von Humboldt; and I believe he accompanied that celebrated explorer in some of his journeys across the cordilleras of the South American Andes. Bonpland died in 1858, at his estancia in the territory of Misiones, near a town called Mercedes, which lies at the distance of about fifty leagues east from Corrientes city. *There* he had a grant of land of four leagues in extent given to him by the Provincial Government at the time that Señor Don Juan Pujol was governor of this province in 1854. At this last-mentioned period, being then interested in the establishment of the agricultural colony of St. Anna (of which I have already written), and where he was at the time temporarily residing, Bonpland was appointed by Governor Pujol to be director-in-chief of a museum of the natural products of the province, just created in the capital. His reply, accepting the post, seems to me worthy of being preserved. It is dated Santa Anna, 27th October, 1854, and is addressed to the Governor in the following words:—"I should wish to be younger as well as more worthy to fill the situation of Director-in-Chief of the Museum or Permanent Provincial Exhibition that your Excellency has deigned to offer me.

"Although I am now three months beyond eighty years of age, I accept with gratitude the honourable position placed at my disposal; and I pledge myself to employ all my powers in fulfilling the numerous duties exacted by an institution calculated to be so useful to the people of Corrientes, to whom, as well as to your



Excellency, the honoured founder of this museum, I owe numberless obligations.

“The greatest richness of this province, known up to the present time, exists in its vegetable kingdom. In the Argentine Republic, as well as in Paraguay,\* and the Banda Oriental, I have collected a herbarium of more than 3000 plants; and I have studied their properties with the most careful attention. This work, in which I have been employed since 1816, will be very useful when I come to arrange our vegetable collection; and I hope in a short time to place in the museum of Corrientes a herbarium that will be as useful as your Excellency need desire, towards encouraging in the minds of your fellow-citizens an ambition to study the natural products of their country.

“As to the mineral kingdom, there is no doubt that with the advance of time our mines of silver and gold will be worked with much advantage, when we have a more numerous population, and labour is carried on according to better rules than those which now exist. Although quicksilver has been discovered many years ago in the immediate neighbourhood of La Cruz,† still the predecessors of your Excellency have neglected the glory of utilizing this metal, which is so useful for amalgamation with gold and silver. It would seem to me advisable to explore, as soon as possible, the three

\* Bonpland was for several years kept prisoner in Paraguay by the Dictator Francia, although guilty of no offence save his devotion to botanical science.

† This city is capital of a department of the same name on the right bank of the Uruguay river, and not very far from where the battle of Yatay was fought on the 17th August last year (1865), between the allied forces and the Paraguayans. It was originally founded in 1623; but was transferred to a new position in 1657.

small hills which overtop the town of La Cruz; for *there* may be discovered the fountain of this quick-silver. If, as I hope, we can ascertain with accuracy the position of this mine, it will prove an invaluable treasure to serve for the amalgamation of the numerous products of gold and silver, that at the present time are being worked with so much zeal all through the Argentine Republic.

"The animal kingdom is very abundant in this province; but as yet we have only a superficial knowledge of it. Therefore much interesting information can be elicited, as well as a good collection formed, by an assiduous study of this branch of knowledge.

"God bless your Excellency, &c., &c.,

"AMADÉ BONPLAND."

The statements in the foregoing letter, that the writer was eighty years and three months old when he accepted the post of Director-in-Chief of the Corrientes Museum, and that he had collected a herbarium of more than 3000 plants, made me very anxious to learn something of the result of his labours up here. I found that his name is remembered by a few—that's all! No one in Corrientes, from whom I inquired on the subject, knows the *locus in quo* of the former museum,—for it no longer exists, although established only twelve years back,—and of the whereabouts of Bonpland's collection they are equally ignorant.

Such is scientific fame in South America!

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Foundation of Corrientes City by Don Alonzo de Vera in 1588 — Attack of the Guarani Indians — Miracles of the Cross — The Chapel of the Cross — Commemorative Pillar, and Inscription on it — Festivities on the Anniversary of the Miracle — Wounded Paraguayans and Brazilians — Argentine Hospitals — Sisters of Charity — Brazilian Marine Hospital — Brazilian Military Hospital — Superior Accommodations for Sick and Wounded — Brazilian Custom in naming Men-of-War Ships — Indian Name of Corrientes City — Derivation of the Title Corrientes — Departments of the Province — The Lake of Ibera — Its Peculiarities, as described by Dr. De Moussy — The Victoria Regia Water-lily — Guarani Name for its Flower.

THE city of Corrientes claims a miraculous legend about its foundation, according to what I glean from a pamphlet written by Doctor Vicente G. Quesada. In the year 1588, Don Juan Torres de Vera and Arragon was Spanish Adelantado, or Governor of Paraguay. He sent his nephew, Don Alonzo de Vera, with eighty soldiers, to found a city in some advantageous position lower down the river than the existing capital, Asuncion. The report of Don Alonzo on the place, which he selected here, describes it as "a beautiful situation, not only with a charming perspective, but possessing manifest advantages for agriculture and the rearing of cattle." On the 3rd of April, 1588, they mounted the banks,—which in this place are not much more than from 10 to 12 feet above the water,—and pitched their tents in a small bramble wood, called Arazatay. As was the custom of the Spaniards in these times, the first thing they did was to make a

cross, which they planted as a signal of their having taken possession in the name of the Spanish sovereign. At the epoch just mentioned, the Guaraní Indians inhabited this part of the country in large multitudes; and they knew, from sad experience, how dreadful was the tyranny of the white man, under whose bondage their brethren were then suffering in Paraguay. So that, at sight of the Spaniards, they prepared to defend their soil and their liberties against these invaders.

The Spaniards, having erected the cross, formed a wooden palisading, inside of which they mustered for defence against 6000 Guaranis, who came at once to attack them, and who were commanded by three famous caciques, named Camirdeya, Payaguari, and Aguara Coemba. The Guaranis poured in on the besieged a shower of arrows, to resist which the barricade, constructed of tree branches, was but a miserable defence. Previous to returning the assault with their arquebuses,—although these were prepared,—the Spaniards knelt down before the cross, and offered up in loud voices the most fervent prayers to Heaven for their protection. The Indians hearing the loud cries, and observing the strange movements of those who had bent their knees before the symbol of their faith, believed that it contained some charm which would prevent the overcoming such a handful of soldiers, so long as it existed. Therefore, as the cross was placed at the entrance to the palisaded enclosure, they piled around it a lot of branches of dry wood, a quantity of scorched-up grass, and anything else of a combustible nature which they could pick up. Then with the fiercest of yelling and most savage of dancing, they

set fire to the heap; for they calculated on certain victory when the cross was consumed. For more than an hour the mass continued flaming up; but their surprise was very great, when all the burning material being exhausted, the cross was observed in the midst of the ashes, perfectly uninjured.

With chagrin and disappointment, they returned to apply a new fire, when, as one of the Indians approached to stir up the smouldering embers, he was struck dead upon the spot,—some say by a flash of lightning sent down from Heaven to make an example of him for the impiety of his people; but others, less credulous, believe that he received his death-blow by a shot from one of the Spanish arquebuses. Be this as it may, the Indians at sound of the detonation, and on seeing the dead body of their comrade, took this as a signal mark of displeasure from above. Thence the 6000 Guaranis, with their caciques, women, and children, bowed their heads, and submitted to the yoke of the eighty Spanish invaders.

A second miracle, connected with this cross, is related from the fact, that in the year 1698, the Guaicarus Indians, from the opposite, or Gran Chaco side of the Paraná, came over in a large number of canoes, and attacked the colonists. The latter abandoned the town, leaving all their houses and property to the merciless marauding of their enemies. The Indians sacked the city and destroyed everything. They even broke open the doors of the church, that contained the miraculous cross, and despoiled the whole of its interior, except that part in which the holy relic was preserved. It was enclosed within a

small square of brass railing, surrounded by a purple silk curtain. But the barbarian invaders, having very probably heard of the attempt made by the Guaranis in former times to burn it, and of their failure in this regard, went away without offering to it any molestation. This is regarded as the second miracle of the cross.

Having obtained a horse, through the kindness of Doctor Newkirk, I rode out on one morning of my stay here to see the pillar (or *columna*, as it is styled) which is erected on the very spot where the cross was originally planted. For, although a chapel was the first edifice built in Corrientes, directly upon the place of the miraculous occurrence, that church, with its prized memorial, was reconstructed on the 10th March, 1736, and again rebuilt on the 3rd March, 1808, on the site where now it stands—"La Capilla de la Cruz" (the Chapel of the Cross)—contiguous to the cemetery. The existing church is very near the town—in fact, adjoins its outskirt—whereas the first one was more than a mile distant.

The column, which stands in a position of about 300 yards from the river's bank, and is visible from the deck of any vessel going up or down stream, was finished in its construction, so as to be celebrated by a grand ceremony of installation on the 4th May, 1828—"as a testimony of the people's veneration for their religious traditions." It is a simple brick or stone pillar, and at the time of my visit, there was a martin's nest on the top of it. The height does not exceed 15 feet, and it has about 6 square feet of metal railing at the base. On two sides of the basement square,

and on small brass plates are inscriptions in Spanish, that nearest the river being:—"The people of Corrientes erect this monument as a testimony of their gratitude to the sovereign author of omens, with which his omnipotent right hand deigned to work in favour of their fathers on the 3rd April, 1588." Whilst that on the side facing the city runs thus:—"The same people of Corrientes as an homage of their profound respect for the memory of their twenty-eight\* illustrious ancestors on the 3rd April, 1588."

Although the first great miracle is accredited to have occurred on the date just mentioned, its celebration was changed to the 3rd May by the Bishop of Paraguay, Doctor Don Benito Luis, when he visited this place (at that time part of his diocese) in 1805. For a considerable number of years after this, the Governor, the Houses of Representatives, the civil and military corporations were accustomed to hold a grand festival at the column on the 3rd May. During the day, all kinds of Gaucho games were celebrated, and many features of carnival times were presented: whilst the night was passed in singing, dancing, and playing the guitar. *Mais tout cela est changé!* And now there is little more in Corrientes than the desolation, which war brings everywhere.

When I was returning from the Paso de la Patria to this city we had on board the 'Duc de Saxe' steamer, in which I came down, from thirty to forty wounded Brazilians and Paraguayans, who were on their way to the hospitals at Corrientes. Poor fellows!

\* Some historians say there were only twenty-three; others give the number as twenty-eight; whilst several put it down as eighty.

wounded in the face, wounded in the back, wounded in the arms, legs, and bellies—wounded anywhere and everywhere. The disabled Paraguayans were of those, who had been taken prisoners in an attack, which was made by a 1000 of their soldiers, under the command of Captain Romero, against a small island almost directly under Itapiru, and which was at the time fortified, as well as occupied by the Brazilians. As I believe the chiefest, if not the only, alleviation to the miseries of any war, can be best supplied by care of the sick and wounded, I made it my business to comply with a promise, that I had given to the Brazilian Admiral, the Visconde Tamandaré, to visit the hospitals when I returned to Corrientes.

The principal Argentine hospital,—there are two—is presided over by Doctor Almeyra, and is situated in the houses and square of what was formerly the Argentine College. Here Doctor Newkirk, a very excellent Canadian medical practitioner, is the active genius of the place. At the time of my visit there were very few patients, although a month previously there were over 200. How the sick and wounded are cared for may be imagined, when I mention that the nurses are six French Sisters of Charity, whose angelic devotion to all in need of comfort or consolation is well known. The other hospital is in the old battery, near the river side, and close to which took place a battle on the 25th May last, when the Brazilians and Argentines drove the Paraguayans from their temporary occupation of Corrientes city. In these two hospitals, they have space for from 500 to 600 patients.

About 700 yards to the north of the latter is the



Brazilian naval hospital. This consists of three long wooden houses, and is capable of accommodating 100 infirm in each house. The floors are of board, raised 2 feet above the ground, and they are all exceedingly well ventilated. Every bed which is occupied by a sick or wounded man, has a mosquito curtain over it, and a washhand-stand with commode alongside. The chief medical man in this is Doctor Suarez Pinto, and besides him, there are three other surgeons, two apothecaries, and three men-nurses. The appearance of the dispensing-room pleased me very much indeed: it is so well fitted up with medicines and surgical appliances, including a large number of sponges. In fact, the *tout ensemble* appeared as perfect in its arrangements as any of the hospitals I have visited in London, Dublin, or Paris.

The same may be said of the principal military hospital, which is at the distance of about half-a-league to the south of the city, and on the ground where formerly existed a saladero. This is a very extensive range of buildings, all made of wood, and which when finished can afford room for beyond 3000 patients. Whilst I was visiting here, the head surgeon was engaged in some important operation; but I was conducted through the wards by the director, Major Seker y Lima. This hospital consists of seven long houses, similar in their construction and fittings-up to the naval one. Each bed has a mosquito-curtain here likewise, and the same conveniences as in the last-named establishment. In one of the houses there was a considerable number of phthisical patients. Every sick man has a paper fastened at the head of his bed,

on which are written his name, age, rank, class of constitution, diagnosis of disease, temperament, date of admittance, and name of birthplace. To these are supplemented columns, on which the attending physician or surgeon notes down every day the kind of external or internal treatment that has been prescribed, with the quality of diet to be ordered for the invalid, and any other general observations that he may deem expedient to note.

There is a third hospital, chiefly for medical cases, with bed-room for 1500 infirm. This is close to the quinta of a Señor Abalos, and about half-a-mile distant from the military one. Altogether, these hospitals are admirably fitted up, and furnished with every comfort. No expense is spared on the part of the Brazilian authorities to assuage the sufferings of their sick and wounded,—sailors and soldiers. The best medical men from Rio de Janeiro constitute the staff, under whose regulations these hospitals are managed.

Connected with my memories of this trip, there is a matter that gives to me very great pleasure in recording. It is the custom adopted by the Brazilian Government of bestowing on its war-vessels the names of men, who have fallen in their service. There was a small steamer destroyed by the Paraguayans, whilst I was at Paso de la Patria, which had been entitled the 'Colonel Fidelis,' after an officer of that name, who was killed at the battle of Yatay during the present war; and one of their war-steamers now amongst the fleet is called the 'Enrique Martinez,' in honour of a young midshipman so named, who was shot by the Paraguayans at the battle of Riachuelo for refusing to surrender the Brazilian flag.

The city of Corrientes was entitled "Taragui" by the Guarani Indians. This word in their language signifies a "lizard;" and they gave it the appellative from the fact of the walls, roofs, and patios (courtyards) abounding with these reptiles, shortly after the town was founded. The original name given to this place by the Spaniards was San Juan de las Siete Corrientes (Saint John of the Seven Currents). And this title owes its origin to the fact that a short distance above the city's site the river breaks on certain points of rocks, which cause so many (*i. e.* seven) backwaters and consequent eddies, each having an opposite direction of current to its neighbour. The coat-of-arms of the province represents seven tongues of land, with a cross in the middle surrounded by flames.

Corrientes province is divided into twenty departments:—1, the Capital; 2, Esquina; 3, Goya; 4, Bella Vista; 5, Saladas; 6, Empedrado; 7, Las Lomas; 8, Las Ensenadas, or San Cosme; 9, Itaty; 10, San Miguel; 11, Caacaty; 12, Santo Tome; 13, La Cruz; 14, Restauracion; 15, Curuzu-Cuatia; 16, San Roque; 17, Mburucuyu; 18, San Luis del Palmar; 19, Yaguarete Cora; and 20, Mercedes, or Pay Ubre. These departments are territorial divisions, somewhat in the style of English parishes. Each of them possesses so many Justices of Peace, who are distributed more in proportion to the population, and commercial importance of a department, than to its extent of land.

The topographical compass of this province seems very difficult to be defined, as there have been for some ages disputed points of boundaries between the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Paraguay—chiefly in reference to the district of Misiones, which forms

the north-eastern limit between Corrientes and the dominions of Brazil.

The greatest natural curiosity in this province is the Laguna, or extensive lake of Ybera.\* According to Dean Funes, the Indian tribes of Caracaras, Capasalos, Mepenses, and Galquilaros inhabited many of the islands in this lake. We are told by Dr. Du Moussy† that the greater part of its immense extent, of 700 square leagues, is covered with wood and aquatic plants, as well as alive with boa-constrictors and crocodiles. Its waters rise and fall with the increase and ebb of the river Paraná, although there is no visible communication between them, except by the rivers Corrientes, Batel, Santa Lucia, Ambrosio, and San Lorenzo, that run out of the lake, and flow in a south-westerly direction to empty themselves into the Paraná. At its opposite side, the river Mirinay abuts from it, and, following a south-easterly course, debouches into the river Uruguay, near Caçeros, and directly opposite to where the Guarani falls into the same river. The Guarani divides the Brazilian province of Rio Grande from the Banda Oriental.

The vast extent of Lake Ybera is composed of clear water, pools, marshes, terra firma, bramble-beds, and quagmires. The existence of the last-named is sometimes very difficult to be recognized, on account of the quantity of aquatic plants that impede the passage—it being often necessary to explore with canoes for several days, in order to effect a progress. The title

\* Ibera or Ybera in the Guarani language means “clear water.”

† ‘Description Géographique et Statistique de la République Argentine,’ vol. iii., p. 122.

Laguna (or lake) seems to me misapplied to Ybera; for swamp or morass might be a more appropriate name.

In parts of it there are large sheets of water, on which are floating islands, that become changed in their position by a strong wind. On this, as well as other lakes in the province of Corrientes is to be found growing the colossal water-lily, the *Victoria Regia*. In the native Guarani it is called the "Irupe," which signifies "a large plate."

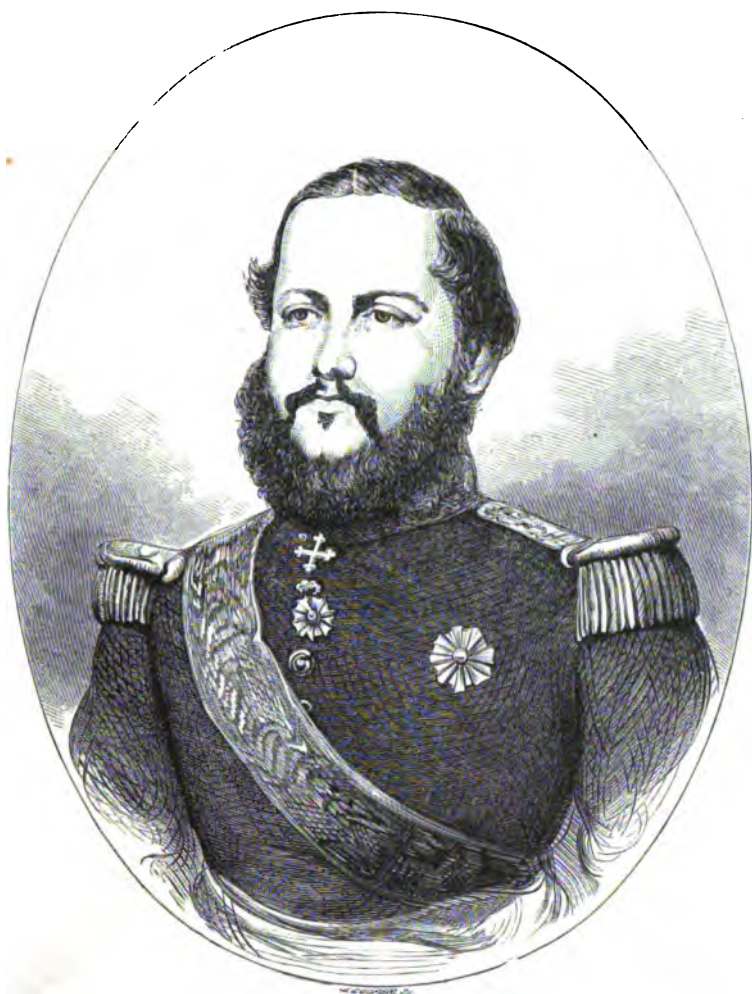
## CHAPTER XXXII.

Continual Outbreaks in South American Republics — Their Effects in keeping Capital and Immigration away from these Shores — Ideas of the Origin of these Causes — Intentions of the early Spanish Invaders — Want of Unanimity at Time of Independence in 1810 — Difference of *Morale* in the Pilgrim Invaders of Plymouth Rock — Contrasts by Doctor Beecher — From Civil Wars to the existing War with Paraguay — Extraordinary Session of Congress called by Lopez on 5th March, 1865 — Charges against Brazil and the Argentine Government in President's Address — Field-Marshal Lopez refuses to accept Pension — Rumours and Conjectures up and down this River — Attack of Paraguayan War-ships upon Corrientes — Bad faith on the part of the Paraguayans — Proclamation of Lopez.

ONE of the English newspapers—I forget which,—when criticizing Mr. Latham's last work\* on this country, observes with some truth:—"The constant bickerings and disputes of the South American Republics,—the continual danger of fresh outbreaks, and the consequent insecurity to settlers, particularly in the frontier provinces, is the one great drawback to what may be called, even on the lands of an alien Republic, British colonization. We regret that the author of the work before us has not enlarged somewhat on the political constitution, history, and policy of the country of which he speaks."

Similar opinions have been expressed to me many a time, and like explanations demanded. The former are, however, considerably overdrawn; and I shall here try to give a few explanations on these points.

\* 'The States of the River Plate.' Longmans, London.



*L. P. G. G.*





Some people say it was not the fault, so much as the misfortune, of the Argentines that they are for the most part of mixed Spanish and Indian descent. Bearing in mind that the original discoverers and conquerors of South America were of the Spanish hidalgos of the middle ages,—the followers of Don Juan de Solis,—of Sebastian Gabot, Pizarro, Pedro de Mendoza, Almagro Gonzalez ;—the Zarates, Irales, Alvarezes, and others of the same class. They came out to search for an El Dorado ; they were not of a nation that, failing in the search for gold and silver, could turn themselves to industrial pursuits, and till the soil, which everywhere presents facilities for agricultural labour. Neither could they follow mercantile speculations ; for of these they knew nothing. From them, in their mixture with the Indians, came the present rulers and peoples of the South American Republics.

The whole history of South America, before and after the so-called Conquest, shows, that these men, whilst in their pursuit for precious metals, were obliged to fight with the natives, and that after this, of their own accord, they fell to fighting with one another. So that at the assumption of Independence in 1810, there was no such thing as unanimity of opinion, social or political, in any two of the fourteen states, which claimed for themselves the privilege of setting up a Republican form of government.

Without advocating Republicanism (upon whose merits or demerits I claim the privilege of a mental reservation), I may point to the difference between these people I have just described, and the pilgrim fathers of the North—the little self-exiled band, which

landed on the Plymouth rock of North America in 1620, and who came out not to seek gold, but to found a democracy. "They came," says Dr. Henry Ward Beecher, "that they might have the privilege to work and pray—to sit upon hard benches and listen to painful preachers as long as they could,"—in fact, to be perfect Puritans. They, by the stern, unyielding principles of the Anglo-Saxon, vanquished winter, famine, and the wilderness, and left a generation, in the present day constituting, whatever its faults may be, the greatest Republic of which the world's history gives us an example.

How different, too, has the Argentine want of unanimity,—with its "Crudos" *versus* "Cocidos"—Blancos *contra* Colorados,—Unitarios against Mashorqueros,—been, all through their civil wars, from the spirit, thus apostrophized by Doctor Beecher: \*—"In all our colonial days we were one; in the long revolutionary struggle, and in the scores of prosperous years succeeding it. When the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 aroused the Colonies, it was Gadesden of South Carolina that cried with prescient enthusiasm, 'We stand on the broad common ground of those natural rights that we all feel and know as men. There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on this continent, but all of us,' said he, 'Americans. No North, no West, no South, but all of us one United States of America.' "

Such an Union as this has never been known out here. Without venturing to assume the idea of Argentines having committed a political error in pro-

\* Speech on replanting the old flag at Fort Sumter in April, 1865.

fessing to found their government on the model of the United States, when they do not possess the elements for such a thing, I must say that all their civil wars prove the truth of Dr. Beecher's ideas thus expressed:—"Theory pronounces that there can be no permanent government where each integral part has liberty to fly off. Who would venture upon a voyage in a ship,—each plank and timber of which might withdraw at pleasure?"

From civil wars the transition is natural to the contest in which the allied forces of Brazil, the Argentine and Uruguayan Republics have been engaged, during the last two years and a half, against the little Republic of Paraguay.

I do not presume to give a history or description of this war, although I have been in the river Paraná for some years before it commenced; and in March, 1866, I was for three weeks on board the English steamer 'Whiteinch,' at Paso de la Patria, in front of the Paraguayan fort of Itapiru. But a work on the present day, with reference to this part of the world, and having nothing in it about the war, would be so like the play of 'Hamlet' with the part of Hamlet left out, that I cannot pass it by.

On the 5th March, 1865, an extraordinary session of Congress was summoned to the Congress Hall of Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, to hear the address of President Lopez, and the reports of the several Ministers. The message of the President set forth the recent sanguinary events in the Uruguay, and consequent violation of equilibrium in the river Plate, as causes of rupture with Brazil, and coolness with the

Argentine Republic. It charged Brazil with having violated the treaty of 1850, for the maintenance of nationalities in this part of South America, by allying itself with the rebel band of Flores. Alluding to the Paraguayan Government having offered to join with the Argentine in mediating between Brazil and Uruguay, it complains that the Brazilians still carry on that war, without condescending to take notice of the offer made by President Lopez. This, of course, as the message says, outraged the national honour and dignity, as well as compromised the security and integrity of the Paraguayan Republic. It further states that the territory of Matta Grosso, of which Lopez has now taken possession, had been usurped by Brazil, although belonging to Paraguay by virtue of discovery, possession, and treaties; and that an additional justification for seizing it, if such were needed, existed in the fact of Brazil having collected there great military resources to prepare new inroads on Paraguay.

Another point, which is touched upon with much apparent sensitiveness in the message, is that the Paraguayan Government, foreseeing that a conflict with Brazil might have taken place on the eastern frontier of the republic of the first-named, solicited permission from the Argentine cabinet to cross the territory of Corrientes province, when events might so oblige. The Argentine Government not only refuses permission (while granting a like privilege by river Paraná to the Brazilian squadron bound for Paraguay), but protests against the Paraguayans going through the disputed territory of Misiones,

which is behind Corrientes and Entre Rios, and over which Lopez proposed to pass in order to meet Brazil on her own territory.

In two days after this message had been delivered, the Paraguayan Senate conferred on President Lopez, the dignity of a Field-Marshal. The salary, proposed to be attached to the post, namely 60,000 silver dollars per annum, he peremptorily refused. But he accepted a sword of honour, and agreed to the proposal made by Senator Riveros, although this was objected to by the Bishop and others, that he should lead the army in person.

Meanwhile every place up and down this river was alive with rumours, conjectures, and war-talk. It was said that Lopez could raise an army of 60,000 men; that he had been for many years amassing the most perfect and extensive collection of European armaments; that the fort of Humayita, which must be passed, when ascending the river to arrive at Asuncion, was furnished with 120 guns of large calibre (many of them being Lancasters), and manned by 8000 troops; that the river at Humayita was spiked to prevent the ascent of the Brazilian squadron; and that Lopez, despite of the objections raised by the Argentine Government, on account of its professed desire to remain neutral, had determined to cross over through Misiones, and penetrate into Brazil.

Five weeks subsequent to reading of President Lopez's message, a fleet of five Paraguayan war-steamers came down from the capital at Asuncion, and captured the Argentine war-steamer, the '25° de Mayo,' as well as the Government hulk, 'Gualeguaya,'

both of which were at anchor in the harbour of Corrientes. The attack was so sudden and unexpected, having been made at quarter-past seven in the morning, that no preparations could be effected for a defence against such unequal force, and so both vessels were captured.

Coincident with the arrival of the war-steamers, came 5000 Paraguayan infantry, and a like number of cavalry, to occupy the city of Corrientes. These had passed the river Paraná, at Paso de la Patria, on the previous night, and were in the streets, simultaneous with the entrance of the war-vessels into the harbour.

Although these operations were carried into effect on the 13th April, it appears that the proclamation of war by Lopez against the Argentine Government bears date "Asuncion, the 14th April." The Argentines point to another instance of bad faith on the part of the Paraguayan ruler, by the fact of a treaty of friendship having been entered into in the year 1856, between the Paraguayan and Argentine Republics, the 8th article of which declares:—"If unfortunately war should break out between the Argentine Confederation and the Republic of Paraguay, (which God forbid), hostilities shall not be commenced by either party without six months' previous notice mutually exchanged of such rupture."

The proclamation of war by Lopez was addressed to the expeditionary army of the South. It calls upon the soldiers and sailors to proceed with vigour and discretion "against Mitre, the demagogue of Buenos Ayres," reminding them that twenty years have passed by since they fought for their independence on the

Argentine soil, and urging them to add another crown to the glories they had already acquired in the north. These glories, I may add here, were the taking possession of the Brazilian towns of Coimbra, Albuquerque Curamba, San Lorenzo Dorados, Miranda, Nivac, and other places up the Cuyaba river, which flows into the Paraguay. The captures just recorded were finished by that of Matto Grosso ; so that a large portion of Brazil, to the north of Paraguay, to which access is had only by these rivers, Paraná and Paraguay, has been from that time in the hands of Lopez.

On the day succeeding the attack at Corrientes, the Provincial Governor, Señor Lagrana, at once issued two decrees—the first ordering that all Argentines in his province, between the ages of seventeen and sixty, should present themselves on horseback at the general encampment ; and the second, declaring every man to be a traitor to his country, who would in the slightest degree give assistance to the Provisional Government, set up by the invaders in the province of Corrientes.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

Arrival of War News in Buenos Ayres, and its Symptoms — President Mitre's impromptu Address and Prophecy — Injustice of disparaging Mitre for these Utterances — The *Paseo Militar* (or Military Spree) — General Mitre's Proclamation — Calling out the National Guards — Enrolment of Infantry — The Treasury Minister coming in with Funds — Donations by the Foreign Merchants of Buenos Ayres — General Satisfaction at Urquiza's Proclamation — Levying of Troops in Entre Rios — Revolt at Basualdo — Disbanding of Urquiza's Troops — Paraguayan and English Volunteers — Triple Alliance Treaty — Its Want of Common Sense — The Principles of a "Walk over the Course" — Explanation of its various Articles.

As soon as news of the attack and capture of Argentine vessels in Corrientes arrived in Buenos Ayres, noisy crowds with bands of music paraded the streets; and one of these groups came to General Mitre's house. The shouts of "Muera Paraguay" (Death to Paraguay) and "Viva la Republica Argentina" (Long Live the Argentine Republic), were of course universal. But the General, advancing to his door, said:—"Fellow-citizens, I do not like such noisy demonstrations. I prefer working before talking or shouting. Go to your homes;—get ready to be mustered at the barracks within twenty-four hours,—to be on the march in fifteen days,—and we shall be within the walls of Asuncion in three months."

Since these words were uttered, they have been many a time repeated to the tune of General Mitre's disparagement, and I think very unfairly; for even supposing that he had any suspicions of the length to



which this war was to be protracted, it would not have been politic to have given utterance to any other sentiment, than that of confidence in his success. If he had expressed himself otherwise, he would have gone in direct antagonism to the Buenos Ayreans, who spoke in the *Veni, vidi, vici* manner of the Paraguayan campaign being nothing more than a *paseo militar* (or military spree), and who seemed to think they had nothing to do but be off to Asuncion,—go in and win. The occurrences since then have proved how sadly they were mistaken.

The steamer which brought down intelligence of the invasion, in a dispatch from Governor Lagrana to President Mitre, carried likewise information of Lopez being at the head of 20,000 men, advancing down the Paraná in company with his fleet. This was afterwards found to be incorrect; but on the arrival of the news, General Mitre issued the following:—

“PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
TO HIS FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN.

“Fellow-countrymen,—At a time of perfect peace, and in violation of the faith of nations, the Government of Paraguay has declared war against us by invading our territory with an armed band, treacherously seizing two steamers of the Argentine squadron and firing on our defenceless people.

“The gauntlet having been thrown down to us without our seeking it, even after we had done as much as propriety would permit to avoid the strife by preserving that neutrality which has been the rule of our politics, we shall now answer war with war; and

we shall do this with all the energy and power which is befitting the glorious antecedents of the Argentine nation, now grievously wounded in its honour and attacked in its stability.

“Fellow-citizens! Relying opportunely on the manliness of the Argentine people, and on your invincible decision, the country has until now strictly kept itself in peace, faithfully preserving its neutrality, because it was certain that when the moment of danger arrived, all, without exception, would come forward to occupy their posts round the national banner, resolved to comply with their sacred duties.

“Argentines! The moment has arrived. In the name of the country and by the authority of the law I call upon you to take your places as citizens and soldiers of a free state, whose banner has been always accompanied by justice and victory.

“Fellow-countrymen! I can safely assure you of victory, because I feel a confidence in the powerful elements that the nation can raise up, under the help of Providence, with your courage and patriotism.

“After this noble effort peace will be more solid, more glorious, and more productive, and you will be able to continue with greater energy the work of progress in which you have been interrupted by an aggression as barbarous as it is traitorous.

“For my part it is unnecessary to tell you that I shall discharge the important duties which the country and the Constitution in these circumstances impose upon me; and trusting in that Heaven which protects the justice of our cause, as well as in your generous patriotism, I shall not rest until I restore to you the

peace which has been treacherously torn from you—until I see vindicated, as is befitting, the honour of the Argentine nation.

“Your fellow-countryman and friend,

“MITRE.

“BUENOS AYRES, *April 16.*”

Together with this, the Cabinet not only proclaimed the Republic in a state of siege, conformable with the 86th article of the constitution, but called out the National Guard over the whole Argentine territory, and ordered the Minister of War to see, that each province furnished its proper contingent. Simultaneous with the preceding steps, a decree was published which enjoined immediate enrolment in the province of Buenos Ayres of eight battallions of the National Guard infantry, with 500 stand of arms to each battallion. Of these, four battallions were to be for defence of the country district and four for the city,—with the possibility, one may imagine, that Lopez and his soldiers were coming down to Buenos Ayres. The Minister of Finance department handed over, to his colleague of the War branch, the sum of 10,000,000 paper dollars (122 of these represent a pound sterling) for the purpose of carrying on the campaign; and many of the foreign merchants of Buenos Ayres came forward, freely and without being solicited, with large donations for the exigencies of the war.

For the first week or so after the news had come to the Capital, much doubt was entertained as to the loyalty of General Urquiza. His province of Entre Rios, being alongside that of Corrientes, and on the same side of the river as Paraguay, it was inferred

that he would not be inactive in the coming contest. Great, therefore, was the satisfaction at his proclaimed adherence to the National Government. As soon as General Mitre had advised him of the Paraguayan attack on Corrientes, he issued a proclamation. In it he brought to mind of his Entre Riano compatriots, that they were the first who gave the signal for the war of Independence, and who crushed the tyranny of Rosas. Addressing them as "Soldiers of Caseros!"—the battle-field on which Rosas was overthrown, he thus concludes:—"Comrades, I march at your head. The whole nation is up in arms, and will quickly resent the affront it has received. A brief campaign,—a great effort—and our laurels are certain! Veteran patriots of the 1st *corps d'armée*, to arm and to horse! Your friend and general awaits you!"

In as short a time as possible after this was issued, 10,000 troops were reported as ready at the arsenal of Calá, each man provided with two horses. As soon as the pleasing intelligence of Urquiza's call to arms arrived at Buenos Ayres, the National Government issued a decree, ordering that these soldiers should be paid the cost and expense of their horses out of the National treasury. At the same time Urquiza was named by the Government to advance with 5000 Entre Riano troops, and meet the enemy at Corrientes.

He *did march*, as he said he would do in his proclamation, and as the National Government ordered him to do. But he got no farther than a place called Basualdo,\* in his own province, where, during his

\* Thirty leagues N.E. of Paraná city.

temporary absence, there occurred a mutiny amongst his men, and on the 3rd July, the whole 8000 were disbanded by himself after his return from a visit to General Mitre at Concordia, up the Uruguay. The why and wherefore of this move has not as yet appeared.

In Buenos Ayres, some Paraguayans, who had been expatriated at the time that the father of the present Lopez was President in Paraguay, solicited permission of General Mitre to form a brigade, and to fight against Lopez under their own country's flag. They also requested to be furnished with arms, as well as to be allowed to form part of the vanguard. A regiment of 100 sappers and miners was created,—the post of Government chaplain was filled up,—one Englishman named Irwin, and another named Davis—both of whom had been military officers in Her Majesty's service,—asked from the National Government the sanction to raise brigades of volunteers from their own countrymen; but these projects turned out to be failures.

The Governments of Brazil, of the Argentine and Oriental Republics having constituted plenipotentiaries to form a treaty of triple alliance, these gentlemen, being the minister for foreign affairs of each respective power, met in deliberation at Buenos Ayres, and there on the 1st May, agreed to the celebrated Treaty of the Triple Alliance.

In a common-sense point of view, no greater error could have been committed, than making such a covenant as this. Of course it may said, that it was not intended to be published, had it not come to light

through Mr. Lettsom of Monte Video, and the reputed carelessness of Earl Russell. But now that its provisions are known, it appears to everybody a complete illustration of counting one's chickens before they are hatched. Moreover, I am inclined to believe, that there is no possibility of effecting a peace between the belligerents, until this treaty be repealed.

The main principle pervading all its articles seems to imply a "walk over the course" for the allies. The first assumption was that whilst respecting the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Paraguay, its government (meaning Lopez) was to be put down. The chief feature of the programme to effect this was, to allow each commander (in order to preserve the sovereign rights of the nations) to be the commander-in-chief in his turn, as the scene of warlike operations would be changed from one dominion to the other. That is to say, that although Brigadier-General Don Bartolome Mitre was to be general-in-chief of the army, whilst the fighting went on upon Argentine soil, the President of the Oriental Republic was to have command,—if the *venue* were changed to Uruguay,—and whoever the Emperor would appoint, if it came to Brazil. Then they pledge themselves not to lay down arms till they shall have overthrown the present Government of Paraguay, and not to sign any treaty of peace, truce, or armistice, unless with the unanimous concurrence of all three powers. It was further agreed between the "high contracting parties" that they should divide between themselves in equal proportions all exemptions, privileges, and concessions to be gained by the conquest, whether these were to be gratuitous or conditional.

The eleventh article provided :—" The present Government of Paraguay being overthrown, the allies will proceed to make the necessary arrangements with the authority constituted by them, to ensure the free navigation of the rivers Paraná and Paraguay in such manner as the regulations or laws of that Republic shall not obstruct, hinder, nor burthen the transit and direct navigation of the merchantmen and vessels of war of the allied states proceeding to their respective territory, or territory not belonging to Paraguay, and they will take suitable guarantees for the effectiveness of these arrangements, on the basis that these regulations of fluvial police, whether they be for those two rivers, or likewise for the river Uruguay, shall be made by common accord between the allies and such other bordering states as shall, within the term to be agreed upon by the said allies, accept the invitation made to them."

It was further provided that the allies would have a guarantee of peace from the new Government, which they were to constitute, and exact from this new Government payment for the expenses of the war,—reparation and indemnification for damages done to private properties, and to the persons of their citizens, and for the damages and injuries subsequently committed in violation of the principles which govern the laws of war.

But I must ask my reader to accompany me to the ensuing chapter, in order to follow out the details of this remarkable treaty.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

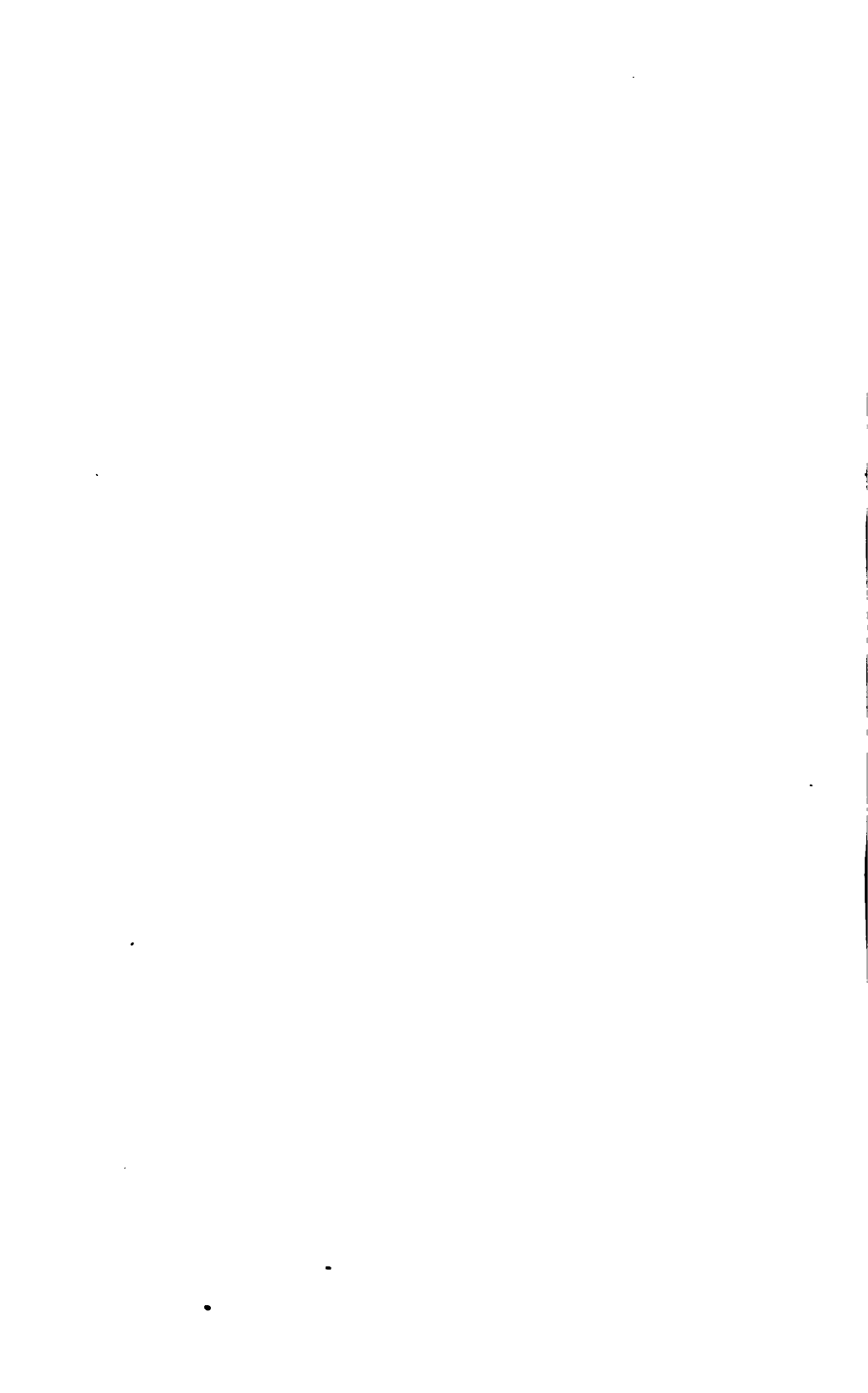
Disputes about Boundaries — Reciprocal Fidelity — The Protocol, like a Postscript to a Lady's Letter — Forgetfulness of the Item, "First catch your Hare" — Intentions of Paraguayan Field-Marshal — Opinions of Admiral Elliot — Lopez's Ambition of Military Fame — Paraguay not a Republic — Suspicions of Lopez's Desire to establish a Monarchy — First Symptoms of this in the Paraguayan "Order of Merit" — Its Grades and Regulations — Decorations of those invested — Class of Men on whom it is to be conferred — Exclusion of Presidents of other Republics — Electric Telegraphy in Paraguay — "Telegrafos Ambulantes" — Paraguayan Bravery — On board the 'Dotorel' — Stolidity.

FOLLOWING up the subject of the Triple Alliance Treaty, it seems to me that the 16th article is one of its most important provisions, for the disputes about boundaries has ever been a prolific source of civil contentions in South America. The article in question provides:—"In order to avoid the dissensions and wars which questions of boundaries involve, it is established that the allies shall exact from the Government of Paraguay that it ratifies definitive boundary treaties with their respective Governments upon the following bases:—The Argentine Republic shall be divided from the Republic of Paraguay by the rivers Paraná and Paraguay, until meeting the boundaries of the Empire of Brazil,—these being on the right margin of the Paraguay, the Bahia Negra. The Empire of Brazil shall be divided from the Republic of Paraguay on the side of the Paraná by the first river below the Salto de las Siete Cahidas (the





El Deber (The Paraguayan Sentinel at his post).



Cascade of the Seven Falls), which, according to the recent map of Manchez, is the Igurey, and from the mouth of the Igurey, and in its course upwards, until reaching its sources. On the side of the left bank of the Paraguay by the river Apa from its mouth to its source. In the interior from the summits of the mountain of Maracuyu,—the streams on the east belonging to Brazil and those on the west to Paraguay, and drawing lines as straight as possible from the said mountain to the sources of the Apa and the Igurey.”

The remaining three articles guarantee the reciprocal fidelity to all its previously-named prescriptions, which shall always remain in full force and vigour, to the effect that they should be respected and executed by the Republic of Paraguay. It was also provided in the penultimate article that this treaty should be kept secret until the principal object of the alliance should be obtained.

This principal object seems to come as an after-thought in the protocol, which like the postscript to a lady's letter, seems to contain the pith and marrow of the whole. It is thus expressed in the first paragraph of the said protocol :—“That in fulfilment of the treaty of alliance of this date the fortifications of Humaita shall be demolished, and it shall not be permitted that others of an equal nature should be erected, which might impede the faithful execution of that treaty.”

This is the sum and substance of the Triple Alliance Convention as it stands ; and I only desire to remark on it, that its concocters seem to have shut their eyes

to the most important item in Mrs. Glass's receipt for hare-soup:—"First catch your hare!"

To guess at the hopes, or intentions of the Paraguayan Field-Marshal appears to me a matter of no small difficulty. In a dispatch of Admiral Elliot's to the secretary of the Admiralty, dated H.M.S. 'Bombay,' Monte Video, December 14th, 1864, he states it as his opinion, with reference to the seizure of the Brazilian steamer 'Marques de Olinda' by the Paraguayans, that instead of having any sympathy for the Uruguayans, "Paraguay is merely looking after her own interest, in seizing the time when Brazil is fully occupied elsewhere to settle her own boundary question and establish her right to territory in her northern frontier which she claims as her own, but to which Brazil also asserts her right."

Events since that time seem to prove that these are not merely the intentions of the Paraguayan President. Confessing, as I do, to have no knowledge of the personal character of Lopez, my belief is, nevertheless, that ambition for military fame, as much as a desire to enlarge the territory of Paraguay, is one of the chief urging dreams in his notion of "equilibrium and independence of the States of La Plata." Paraguay has never been considered a republic; for since the Francia dictatorship the name of Lopez has been, and still continues, the "be all and end all" of Paraguayan existence, —morally, socially, commercially, and politically.

A short time previous to the commencement of this war, it was rumoured down the river that Lopez was about to abolish the title of republic, and establish a monarchy, of which he was to have himself

chosen first emperor. As soon as the war had begun, he created an order (somewhat similar to our English order of the Bath), to be entitled the "National Order of Merit." This generated new suspicions on the previously suspected imperialism, because such an honorary institution as this is decidedly anti-republican.

The Paraguayan official paper, 'El Seminario,' of April 10th, 1865, published the regulations of this "Order of Merit." It consists of five grades: namely, Chevalier, Official Knight, Commander, Grand Official, and Grand Cross. Either or any of these is to be conferred for life, and it is only a competent tribunal that can abrogate them. The decorations of those invested shall consist of a star of silver, with a gold centre-piece, relieved by olive and palm branches, with a crown of laurel on the top. This crown is to have "Reward of Merit" inscribed on one side, with "Honour and Glory" on the reverse. Each grade shall have a difference in the diameter of its star, as well as in the size of ribbon fastening it. These decorations are to be worn on the left breast. The distinctive badge of the Grand Cross is to be a collar, ornamented with small stars, similar in their pattern to the ordinary star.

Of course the President of the Republic is *ex-officio* Director-in-Chief of this order. It is to be conferred on men celebrated in diplomacy, science, judicial and statesmanship capacities, be they foreigners or natives. But it is incumbent on all who receive any of these grades, to swear an oath to God and the country, that they shall dedicate themselves to the service of the

nation, the preservation of its integrity, and defence of its laws.

What seems to touch most acutely the other South American republics in reference to this order is the third paragraph in the third chapter of the Regulations, which ordains:—"Besides the President of the Paraguayan Republic, the order of the Grand Cross (the highest of all) can be conferred only on the Field-Marshal of the Paraguayan army, and the Head of the Church (meaning, no doubt, the Bishop) in the same state wherein the order is created. Whilst to foreigners, it can only be given to those chiefs of foreign powers, who hold their commissions for life." Therefore it cannot be bestowed on the president of any sister republic, who holds his office merely for six years.

During several years previous to this war, Lopez had been progressing in railways,—had organized an arsenal, wherefrom guns of large calibre were turned out,—built several steam-vessels, and put up extensive lines of electric telegraph. One of these still exists between the fortress at Humayita and the capital at Asuncion—a distance of 210 miles. From the former place it had been prolonged to Itapiru, on the bank of the Paraná, in front of Paso de la Patria, and was there at the time that this fort had been taken by the allies. Lopez is likewise reported to follow the example of the Emperor Napoleon III. at Magenta and Solferino, in having with his camp "telegrafos ambulantes," or movable telegraphs, comprising batteries, wires, and poles, sufficient to embrace a circuit of five leagues. These do away with a great deal of the exposure to

which mounted messengers are subject, and likewise obviate much loss of time in transmitting his orders.

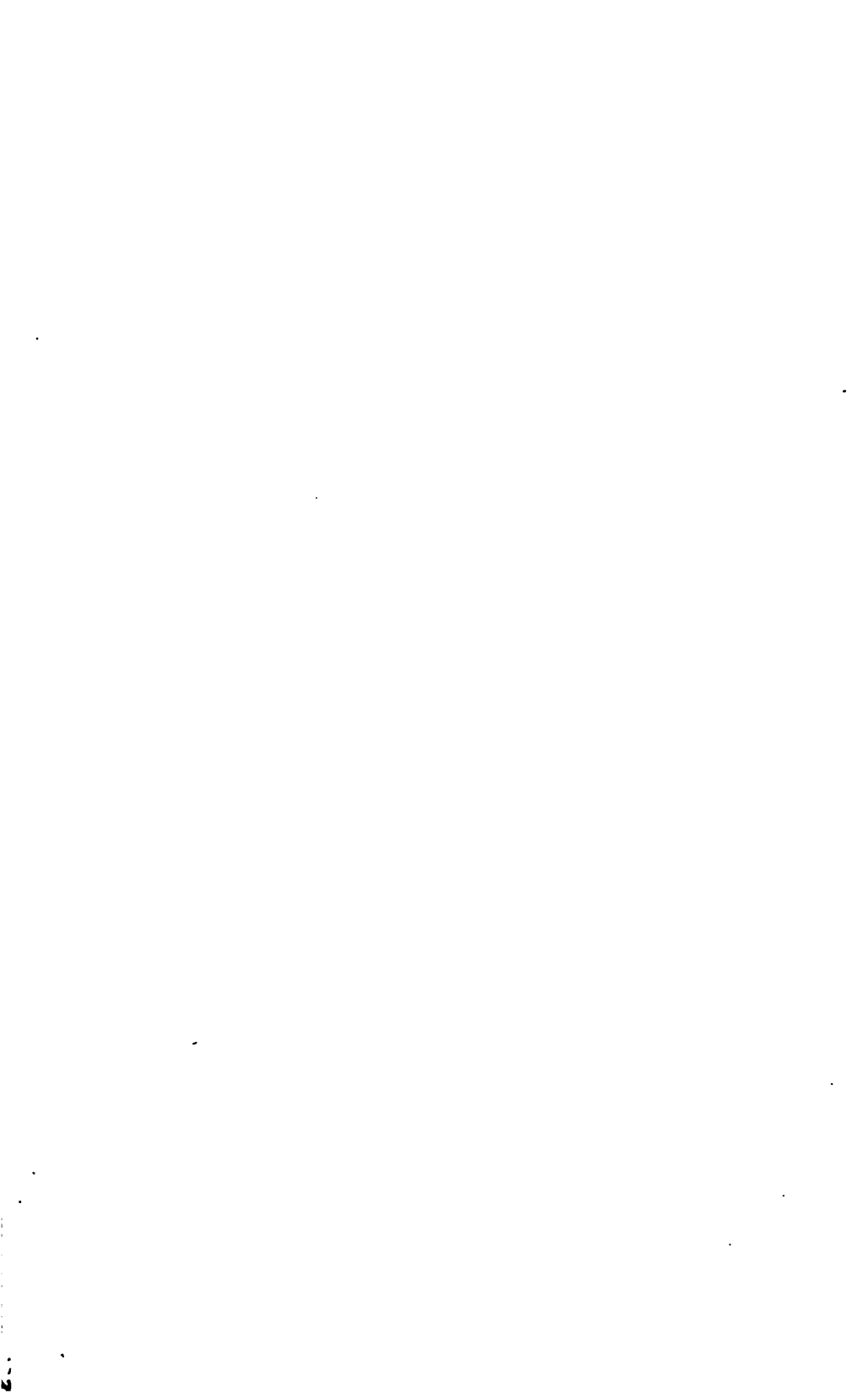
Although in this war I have little feeling save that of neutrality between one side and the other, I must candidly confess, that some instances of Paraguayan bravery have come to my knowledge, which common justice urges me to record. One occurred on board the English gunboat 'Dotorel,' Commander Johnson, R.N., when she was passing by Rosario in the first week of July, 1865, with some wounded Paraguayans on board, who had been rescued by this humane officer from the wreck of the steamer 'Marques de Olinda.' These poor fellows had suffered very much after their steamer—which, it may be remembered, was of old the property of Brazil—had been drifted on the Gran Chaco shore, subsequent to the naval battle of Riachuelo on the 11th June, 1865. Fifteen were on board the 'Dotorel,' of whom twelve were seriously wounded and cared for in beds arranged on the decks. One of them had a portion of his skull fractured by the falling of a spar; another had his arm amputated by the 'Dotorel's' surgeon on the way down; a third had his abdomen pierced by a rifle-ball, and was suffering acutely from peritonitis; and a fourth lost his leg by amputation, which I assisted the doctor in performing whilst the vessel was at anchor in Rosario. Since having received their wounds, they had been four days and nights on what remained of the 'Marques de Olinda,' living on biscuits and water; for it appears that the hapless steamer had her boilers burst. Her commander, who was a brother of the Paraguayan general, Robles, had been taken on board one of the

Brazilian gunboats, where it appears, from the effect of wounds, he died a few days afterwards; and her engineer had drifted himself on a small raft to an Italian schooner that lay about half-a-mile lower down. She was, therefore, in every sense a complete derelict, when the 'Dotorel' rescued her mangled crew.

I was waiting for the Doctor to complete his arrangements for the operation, when I saw the Paraguayan serjeant, who had command over them, approach the bed-side of the man suffering from inflammation in the bowels, now groaning with much pain. One word uttered by the serjeant stopped the complaints. Then the same official pronounced a harangue in Guarani, and which the pilot on board translated for me as follows:—"Dog of a bad Paraguayan! are you not ashamed to let the enemies of your country hear you complain, and give them reason to laugh at you? The glory of having been wounded fighting for that country does not appear sufficient without crying for sympathy in your sufferings! Do not let me hear another groan from you, or I shall report you to the highest power,"—meaning of course Field-Marshal Lopez. From that moment the poor sufferer never uttered a moan, although he died in four hours afterwards, evidently in dreadful torture.

Some Argentines who were on board,—no doubt those described as "*enemies of his country*," called this "Paraguayan stolidity or stupidity;" but to me it seemed the perfection of discipline, joined to the highest class of moral and physical bravery.







Serjeant Gonzalez.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

"No tengo Ordines"—Sergeant Gonzalez who fought ten Brazilians—Prospects for the Future deduced from Contingencies of the Past—The Basualdo Revolt, and Disbandment—Political Error of Triple Alliance—Chemical Incompatibilities—Progress of Objects sought—Naval Battle of Riachuelo—Land Battle of Yatay—Siege of Uruguayana—"High Falutin" Negation to surrender—Scene on giving up—List of Trophies taken—The bloodless Victory—Extracts from Colonel Pulleja's Journal—Things noted down by Heaven's Recording Angel—The Paraguayans not exhausted—Gift of Jewellery, Gold, and Silver Plate by the Ladies of Asuncion—Statistics of Paraguay in 1857—Impassive Blockade.

SOMEWHAT similar in spirit to the incident mentioned at the end of last chapter is the story which is told of a Paraguayan soldier at the siege of Corrientes, on the 25th May, 1865. This man was left in a position as sentinel, in which he was surrounded by more than a dozen allied soldiers. On being called to surrender he refused, with the reply of "*No tengo ordines*" (I have got no orders to do so), and pointed his bayonet to defend himself; but he was soon overpowered by superior force, and slaughtered on the spot!!

Whilst writing this I have before me the carte-de-visite size portrait of a naked-legged Paraguayan, with no clothes on him save a poncho and a cap. His hands are tied behind his back, for he is a prisoner; and I read on the picture:—"Serjeant Gonzalez, a Paraguayan, who fought, alone, against ten Brazilian soldiers; but at last surrendered by force of persuasion.

And when asked why he fought against such unequal odds, and without hope, answered:—"I fought because I am valiant, as are all Paraguayans!"

There may have been amongst the Brazilians, Argentines, or Orientals, equal, or perhaps superior, instances of bravery to those I have just recorded. But I do not mention them here for the simple reason that they have not come to my knowledge.

Of the future in reference to this war, I do not presume to write other than what I said in 'The Times' in June and July, 1865, that "it is not likely to terminate as speedily and satisfactorily as General Mitre in his proclamation anticipates;" and that it is now, as it was then, a war of which "no one can give an explanation or foresee the end."\* I am prepared

\* Sinbad, the private correspondent of the Buenos Ayres 'Standard,' writing from Itapiru, under date August 12 (vide 'Standard,' August 21), 1867, observes:—"Many and various are the surmises respecting the arrival of the 'Dotorel' in these waters. The question how long the war may continue is often debated. The denizens of Itapiru wish it may last for ever. Well-instructed Brazilians declare its duration depends upon the financial operations at Rio,—that while there is money, there will be war. In fine, all sorts of rumours are current. As no fighting has taken place since the visit of Commander Mitchell, of the 'Dotorel' (English gunboat), to Tuyuty, this confirms the opinion that the war will soon be finished. *Que esperanza!* The discussions recall to memory an assertion made by Consul Hutchinson, when he was here eighteen months since, which is now being fully confirmed. At the time his opinion was expressed—it was thought by those that heard it to be a very singular one—the allies, 55,000 strong, with 200 pieces of cannon, and otherwise well provided with every requisite necessary for the intended invasion, were still upon the margin of the Paraná, encamped on the bank of the river, facing Itapiru. A fleet of twenty-two armed steamers, and 200 flat boats were on the spot, ready to co-operate. The pith of the prediction was that, '*When Itapiru was subdued, and the allies master of the opposite coast, it might then be considered the commencement of the war; when or how it might end, he would not venture to say.*'

"This was deemed extravagant language, wildly uttered by a man,

to have these opinions laughed at, as has been done many a time during the two years gone by,—and whilst every battle fought was claimed to be won by the belligerents on both sides. But I will state my reasons for the faith that is in me on the subject.

In the first place, the revolt and subsequent disbanding of Urquiza's soldiers at Basuaddo in a month after they were enrolled in May, 1865, appears to reflect on the possibility of a political error having been committed in the Triple Alliance. For the revolt in question may lead to the inference, that Urquiza looked upon the friendly junction of the Argentine and Oriental Republics with the Empire of Brazil, as resembling a mixture of chemical incongruities, that result in decomposition. This simile may be considered a common one; but every person who has lived amongst these people will acknowledge its correctness. If any of my readers deny the possibility of such a thing, they do not, at all events, include those, who have been up and down this river since the beginning of this war, and who have heard so many Argentine diatribes against the "Macacos." \*

Then comes the question as to what progress has been made in the knocking down of Humayita,—the taking of Asuncion,—and the deposition of Lopez.

believed to be strongly imbued with Paraguayan proclivities. Nevertheless events have proved that Mr. Hutchinson was right."—SINBAD.

I may here mention that any one who records a fact, even without expressing an opinion on it, that is in any way against what a friend of mine calls the "popular side" of this war, is at once set down amongst people out here as "imbued with Paraguayan proclivities." This is my title to such a character,—nothing more.

\* Macaco is a nickname given to the Brazilians by Argentines and Paraguayans, and although interpreted in the Spanish Dictionary as "a parrot," is generally intended to express the sobriquet of "monkey."

Brazil has at present, A.D. 1868, up this river, and has had for two years, the largest naval fleet of monitors, gunboats, and accessories ever known to have been collected in South America. Yet, with the exception of the great naval battle of the Riachuelo on the 11th of June, 1865,—which, like all the others, has been claimed as a naval victory by the Paraguayans,—little or nothing has been done except to keep the river in a state of perpetual blockade.

After the battle of Yatay, in the south-east part of Corrientes, and not far from the river Uruguay, on the 17th August, 1865, it was found that a Paraguayan force had crossed the river Uruguay not far from this place, routed the Brazilians from a town of theirs, called Uruguayana, on the opposite side of the river, and fortified themselves in the last-named city. The battle of Yatay did not take place till the 17th of August, be it observed, in Argentine territory; but Uruguayana was occupied on the 5th of same month by 6000 Paraguayan soldiers. This battle of Yatay was fought between 12,000 allies and 4000 Paraguayans,—the former with thirty-eight pieces of cannon, the latter with only three. No wonder at there being a victory with this inequality. Then Flores and Mitre turned to besiege Uruguayana, joined by the Brazilian General Canavarro, with a force of 20,000 men. Flores sent, by a Paraguayan whom he held prisoner, a demand to Colonel Antonio Estigarribia for the surrender of the town. “The Commander-in-Chief of the Paraguayan Forces on the Uruguay, Head-quarters on March, Uruguayana, August 20th, 1865,” being the aforesaid Estigarribia, sent back to Flores a most determined refusal, quite Spartan in its assertions of “sacred

rights," "noble cause," "die rather than deliver," and other Leonidas sentiments of the new Thermopylæ. At this time it was known that from 500 to 600 bullocks, with 10,000 arrobas (25 lbs. to each arroba) of rice were within the city walls. The Emperor of Brazil soon came down here. Day after day news was coming that the allies "were to have taken up their position around the town,"—that the attack was to be made if capitulation terms were not accepted; and at length, as a Buenos Ayres paper describes:—"On the morning of the 18th September the columns began to advance, and at noon had arrived within gun-shot of the fortifications. Still advancing, they came within hail of the garrison, the latter not firing a single shot nor evincing any opposition. Hereupon several officers rushed forward, crying out to the Paraguayans to surrender; and several groups of the latter, jumping over the trenches, threw away their arms and cheered for the allies—invoking their protection—calling them "brothers," and inviting them "to drink out of their bottles of aguardiente." Another Buenos Ayres paper takes pains to deny the report that Estigarribia received 15,000 ounces (gold) for surrendering Uruguayana, and publishes the trophies as five cannons, 5000 muskets, 13,000 lances, and five flags, with a number of blunderbuses and canoes. This was proclaimed as a signal victory by the allies. In Rio Janeiro medals were struck to celebrate the bloodless victory of Uruguayana; and so far as fighting was concerned in the matter, its capture did not cost a single life.

But let us draw the curtain aside, and see some of the accompaniments of this siege, which protest against its title of "bloodless."

On the bank of the Uruguay, opposite to Urugua-yana, the allied armies were encamped during those parts of August and September, whilst the siege was in contemplation; and from the journal of Colonel Pullejas, a distinguished officer of General Flores' staff, who afterwards fell in battle in the Paraguayan camp, I extract the following:—"August 25th. Horses dying of cold and hunger. An Argentine soldier died last night from exposure. We are in a wretched state,—having no firewood, and the meat being unfit to eat. Our men are on half-rations, which give them dysentery."

"Aug. 26. General Flores is on the river's bank, hastening the crossing of troops. He sent me a handkerchief of biscuits, which we devoured like wild dogs, after four days' fasting,—served out two-thirds rations of bad beef, which must sicken all my men."

"Aug. 27th. Sharp frost last night,—two men of the Florida and Abril batallion died of cold and hunger. Yesterday morning one of the Garibaldi volunteers, and the day before one of Colonel Olma's men, died from the same cause. . . . At Restaraucion \* 500 of our poor fellows are stretched on the ground, without bandages for their wounds or medical stores. Major Oliros, commander of the San Nicholas batallion, blew his brains out on yesterday, driven to desperation and madness by the horrible state of his men."

"Aug. 28th. No men died to-day of hunger, although up to 4 P.M. we have had nothing to eat. All our horses and some bullocks have died for want of pasture."

\* This is about a league south of Yatay, where the battle was fought on 5th August, and no doubt the sufferers in this case were those wounded at that battle.



It may be said that things as bad as these have happened in the Crimean war, and that as bad, if not worse, are still occurring daily up this river, of which no report is kept save that of heaven's recording angel.

Again I record my belief, that peace with Paraguay is out of the question until the Triple Alliance Treaty be repealed or considerably modified; and whilst doing so I protest against being charged with sympathy for Lopez or his cause, in consequence of this candid declaration on the subject.

The talk of the Paraguayans being nearly exhausted (in this month of October, 1867, whilst I write) appears to savour of bosh. These people have already showed a spirit of self-reliance—be their cause good or bad—which cannot be put down by such newspaper penny-a-lining as this. The latest accounts bring down news of the ladies of Paraguay having offered to the president, Field-Marshal Lopez, a lot of their jewellery, as well as gold and silver plate, as their contributions to the expenses of the war. Of this Lopez would only accept a twentieth part, and that was destined to be the foundation of a metallic currency for the republic of Paraguay.\*

If we want to know what was Paraguay ten

\* Although the accounts given of the Paraguayan Field-Marshal's having organized regiments of women have not been authenticated, it can be seen, from the following incident, that the women of Paraguay have proved themselves heroines on the battle-field :—"We read in the '*Patria*,' that among the dead Paraguayans in the action of the 8th of May, in the Chaco, was found an old woman dressed in man's clothes, shot by the side of a young man also killed, whose head she was holding in her withered hands, and who probably was her own son. The latter was clutching his musket with one arm, and the other twined round the neck of the old woman. The picture must have really been a sad and pathetic one."

years ago, we find that by the census of 1857 the population of Paraguay was 1,337,439, the gross revenue 19,906,116\$, derived from the monopoly of yerba-mate, and the public fazendas, 83,057,972\$, and from customs' duties, stamps, rents of public lands, &c., 6,848,144\$. There was no public debt. The standing army consisted of 12,000 men of all arms, well disciplined, clothed, and armed, and the reserve of 46,000 men. The arsenals were well supplied, and could supply a large army with all necessities, and with the ammunition for several parks of siege and campaign cannon, while the public estancias were capable of furnishing the cavalry with their horses. The medical service was chiefly composed of foreigners, and well organized. The marine consisted of eleven steamships. At the foundry of Ibicuy cannon and their balls were cast, and in the naval arsenals been built seven or eight steamships, some of which were 280 feet long.

So little, however, is known with certainty of Paraguay that the population of Asuncion is estimated by various authorities at from 21,000 to 48,000 souls. The exports in 1860 amounted to 2,710,248\$, and the imports to 1,417,345\$; total 4,127,291\$. Whilst in 1867, with the organization that has been forming during the last twenty years,—with the aid of Chili and Bolivia,—both of which republics are helping practically, it seems a matter of probability, that many years will pass before Paraguay can be subdued by such an impassive blockade, as that which is kept up by the Brazilian squadron.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.\*

At Paso de la Patria — Difference of Brazilian and Paraguayan Gunnery — The Fort of Itapiru — Brazilian Monitors in Front — Naval Battle of Riachuelo on 11th June, 1865 — Losses on both Sides — Bravery of Commander Robles — Each Side claiming this Battle as a Victory — Improvised Batteries — Rapid Marches of the Paraguayans to Toropoy and Cuevos — Passage of the Brazilian Fleet by the Battery at Cuevos — Injuries to the Brazilian Steamers — Paraguayan Soldiers lying on their Faces — The Siege of Uruguayana — Presence of the Emperor of Brazil — Battle of Yatay — Apathy of Brazilians.

DURING my short stay at the Paso de la Patria I saw that the allied forces had no ordinary enemy to encounter. Before I was three days there, I could distinguish without going out of my cabin, between a shot from a Brazilian monitor, and one from the fort at Itapiru, the latter having invariably that sharp ringing crack, which tells of good gunnery.

The so-called fort of Itapiru was only a breastwork of some 4 to 6 feet high, with a rancho, a galpon or shed, the Paraguayan flag on flag-staff, and some few forty-eight pounders, as well as mortars. From one or other of these latter came frequently, and generally with accuracy of aim, a shell at Admiral Tamandares' steamer, the 'Apa,' or into the middle of the allied camp at the opposite side of the river. To traverse either of these distances the shell had to go over from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 miles. Three of the Brazilian monitors were stationed in front of Itapiru, but at a distance of

\* Before reading this chapter it will be advisable to open the map, and keep it ready for consultation.

2½ miles from the fort, or as near as possible to the Corrientes side. All day long, and for days, and weeks, and months, they had continued bombarding from this position. But as fifteen out of every twenty shells fired from these monitors either fell in the water, or burst in the air at a short distance from whence they were discharged, they of course did not do much damage to the fort.

At the naval battle of Riachuelo, on the 11th June, 1865, the Paraguayan fleet of eight steamers carried 23 guns, as follow :—the Tacuari, 6 ; Igurey, 2 (swivels) ; Paraguay, 2 (swivels) ; Salto, 2 ; Piribehe, 1 ; Issora, 1 ; Tejuy, 2 ; Marques de Olinda, 2 ; and five flat boats, or chatas, with one gun each. The land battery commanding the passage up, by point Riachuelo, mounted 35 guns. The Brazilians had nine steamers, and their number of guns is known likewise to have by far exceeded those of the Paraguayans, although it appears improbable they had 100, as the Buenos Ayres ‘Standard’ says. The fight lasted four hours and a half, and must have been a sharp and a well-fought battle on both sides. The Brazilian steamer ‘Icquitinhonha’ was sunk ; the ‘Belmont’ was riddled and filled with water ; the ‘Paranahyba’s’ wheel cut away ; the ‘Amazonas’ bows much injured ; the ‘Iparaugna’ ashore for some time ; and the other four slightly damaged.

The mishaps amongst the Paraguayans amounted to the ‘Paraguari’ being burnt ; the ‘Salto’ sunk from being run down by the ‘Amazonas’ ; the ‘Tejuy’ aground ; ‘Marques de Olinda’ wrecked ; and the ‘Tacuari,’ ‘Igurey,’ ‘Issora,’ and ‘Piribebe’ escaped.

The 'Marques de Olinda' drifted down with the current, sticking on the Mercedes bank, near the Gran Chaco, from which the commander of the British gunboat 'Dotorel' took her wounded in a few days after. It was from this steamer that Commander Esequiel Robles was taken prisoner. Although a severe wound in his hand was dressed by the Brazilian surgeons, he tore off the dressings and preferred bleeding to death rather than owe his life to Brazilian care.\* This man was brother to Robles, the commander-in-chief of the vanguard of Lopez's army.

That the battle of Riachuelo was a hand-to-hand fight is evident from what we know of the four Paraguayan steamers, 'Paraguay,' 'Tacuari,' 'Paraguari,' and 'Salto,' bearing down in concert on the Brazilian steamer 'Paranahyba,' with the intention of boarding her. In this they succeeded for a short time until General Barrios (Brazilian) with the 'Amazonas,' cut right down on the 'Salto,' and sunk her.

As the Brazilians estimate their loss in this action to be 300, and that of the enemy 1500, whilst the Paraguayans state the Brazilians to have 800 killed, and their own loss at 750, it seems quite apparent that we can place no faith in either. Because one squadron (the Brazilian) having gone down the river, whilst the other (Paraguayan) went up—as soon as the battle was over, each must have been equally incapable of telling the number lost on the opposite side. The Brazilian fleet were all gunboats, whilst excepting one or two of the Paraguayans, theirs were

\* A somewhat similar incident to this is recorded at page 339, Chap. XXXIX., of this book.

steamers for conveying mails and passengers up and down the river from Asuncion to Monte Video. Both sides—the Paraguayans as Brazilians—had medals struck for this battle, each claiming it a victory.

Improvised batteries were now got up by the Paraguayans to keep in check the Brazilian fleet. One was at Point Mercedes, another at Rincon La Grana, a third at Santa Catalina, and the fourth was that at Riachuelo, which had taken part in the combat of 11th June. All these positions were prominent points of land on the left bank of the Paraná between Corrientes and Bella Vista, and close to which every steamer or vessel, going up or down the river, must pass in order to catch the proper channel.

Whilst the Brazilian fleet remained anchored at Cimbolar, the Paraguayans came down over land to Bella Vista, and from this proceeding farther arranged two formidable batteries, one at Toropy and the other at Cuevos. These were for the purpose of giving a greeting to the Brazilian squadron on its way down. The former position was five, and the latter six leagues below Bella Vista. At Toropoy guns were allowed to remain only a short time, for it was found the position of Cuevos was much better, and here all the force was concentrated. On the 14th August, the Brazilian fleet, occupied up to that time in making repairs of damages consequent on the action of 11th June, passed by Cuevos. The Paraguayan commander, Major Cabral, who was at Bella Vista, when he heard of the intended movement of the Brazilians, proceeded to Cuevos with a few thousand men, and forty or fifty cannon. In one night this journey of

twenty miles was accomplished; through defiles, over rivers, amongst brushwood, and without a roadway, where it was no small feat to bring so great a number of cannon to such a distance in the time.

The commander of the Brazilian squadron, Vice-Admiral Barroso, must have been, no doubt, surprised at having such a galling fire poured on his fleet, as they passed beneath the Cuevos bank. The damage caused by this attack may be imagined from the report given by the Brazilians of the injuries received by their respective steamers. The 'Amazonas' received forty-one cannon balls; the 'Ivohy,' twenty-two; and the 'Guardia Nacional,' Argentine flag-ship, with Admiral Muratori on board, twenty-seven. Some of the balls went right through and through the steamers. The Paraguayan infantry fired from the bank, lying on their faces.

The Paraguayan army at this time, besides their batteries and troops on the Paraná, had crossed Corrientes, and reached the frontier, where the latter province joins with Brazil, and with the Banda Oriental. Here, commanded by Major Duarte and Colonel Bosco, they seized on the Brazilian town of Uruguayana. At Concordia, in Banda Oriental, were the first head-quarters. This was the spot wherefrom Generals Mitre and Urquiza went to visit the Brazilian Field-Marshal Osorio and staff; Urquiza having come up to explain to Mitre all about the disbandment of his brave Entre Rianos at Basualdo.

On the 16th June, 1865, His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil arrived at Rio Grande, in the Imperial steamer 'Santa Maria,' escorted from Rio de Janeiro

by three foreign gunboats, English, French, and Italian. His son-in-law, the Duke of Saxe, accompanied the Royal party. He issued a proclamation on the day of his arrival, in which he advises the Rio Grandenses to let their only thoughts be, to avenge the insult offered by the Government of Paraguay. He further added, that the rapidity of communication between the metropolis and this province would enable him and his son-in-law to preside in person, over their noble efforts in arms.

From Rio Grande the Emperor went north to Concordia, the head-quarters already spoken of, and was, I believe, there at or about the time of the battle of Yatay on the 17th August. This affair, with the succeeding cession of Uruguayana, seems to have had a depressing influence on Lopez. There can be little doubt that they were contrary to his expectations and plans; and that they were the cause of a decided change in his military operations. He speaks very strongly on the subject in his proclamation of 6th October from Humanta.

Returning to the Paraná, we find five Paraguayan steamers had come down to Cuevos, but did not go any farther, the Brazilian fleet being at this time between Rincon de los Sotos and Goya, effecting repairs. It was said that the news from Yatay and Uruguayana had urged Lopez to send these vessels on an exploring survey. At all events they took away all the guns from the battery, carrying them back to Corrientes, whither the few thousand infantry followed them by land.

This last event occurred in October,—be it observed,



four months subsequent to the battle of Riachuelo, and two after the passage of Cuevos. Yet strange to say, although the Brazilian squadron was anchored at from eight to ten leagues lower down than Cuevos, the Brazilian admiral knew nothing of the Paraguayan steamers having come down, nor of having taken away the guns, or withdrawn the soldiers, till five days later than the occurrence, when news of it was communicated by an Italian war-schooner, the 'Rosita,' passing down the river from Corrientes.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

Drafting Paraguayans into the Ranks of the Allies — Protest by General Lopez against this Proceeding — Mitre's Reply of Justification — Correspondence of Colonel Pallepas — Paraguayans dying, as deserting from the Allied Army — Jungle Fight at Estero Bellaco — Great Battle at Palmar on 24th May — Battle of El Sauce on the 8th July — Paraguayan Accusation against the Allied Troops of being drunk — Capture by the Brazilians of Fort Curuzu — Conference between Lopez and Mitre to arrange Terms of Peace — No Result of their Interview known to the Public for nine Months afterwards — Contempt shown by the Allies to the Proposals of Lopez.

A PECULIARITY of this war, which had been commented on by the friends of Paraguay, as against all usages of civilized warfare, was the practice, adopted by the allies, of drafting into their ranks the Paraguayans taken prisoners.

From Uruguayana there were 1500 thus put into the Oriental army, in command of General Flores. A protest was made to General Mitre, under date, Head-quarters, Humayita, November 20th, 1865, in which Lopez designates this as "a contempt not only for the usages of war, but for common humanity—this barbarous alternative between death and slavery, and which is unexampled in history." General Mitre replies, not only that these men entered the ranks of the allied troops at their own free will and request, but charges Lopez with barbarous acts towards defenceless women, and children of the allies. It is curious to observe that with this "*will and request*," Colonel Pallepas, a war correspondent, and an officer

in the army of Flores, should write :—" Dec. 7th. On our muster we found seven Paraguayans missing, whilst eight of our infantry and artillery had also deserted. \* \* \* \* Dec. 8th. Three more Paraguayans have escaped in the woods. \* \* \* \* Dec. 11th. Three Paraguayans deserted to-day. \* \* \* \* Dec. 14th. Two Paraguayans cleared out last night; two more deserted this evening. \* \* \* \* Dec. 15th. Three more Paraguayans deserted this morning, including a fellow named Villagran, who was taking Maté with me last night, and complaining of the ingratitude of his countrymen, who deserted. \* \* \* \* Dec. 16th. Three serjeants and five Paraguayans escaped before dawn."

This style of clearing out induced General Flores, at request of Colonel Pallepas, to have them all disarmed, and treated as prisoners of war.

But they still continued to desert; from which one would imagine the "will and request" in this case to be somewhat like the voluntarism, described by Monsieur Poucel.

In one account of the great jungle fight at Estero Bellaco, it is said 1200 Paraguayans were killed; whilst another gives the number as 2310. But the most curious part of the attack in this case by the allies was, the fact of the Brazilian advance guard being 700 Paraguayans who had been taken prisoners at Yatay. It need scarcely be wondered at, that none of these were on the Brazilian muster-roll next day. In this fight General Flores had two horses shot under him, and his battalion, the Florida, was cut down to forty men.

Succeeding, and on the 24th May, was another great fight at Palmar, or Tayuty, in which General Mitre proved his bravery by being in the most exposed parts of the battle-field. Captain Fitzimons, an Englishman in the Argentine army, received a bullet in the shoulder, whilst standing alongside Mitre, and acquainting him of some orders having been obeyed. The account of this battle given by Colonel Nelson, relates that the Paraguayan soldiers were drunk when they came to the charge. General Mitre reports of the rencontre in question, that it lasted four hours and a half of dreadful fighting—that the enemy left 4200 dead and 370 prisoners, whilst confessing to a loss on the part of the allies of 3347 killed and wounded.

Under date June 11th, Colonel Pallescas writes:—  
“It is the anniversary of the battle of Riachuelo, which is claimed as a victory by Paraguay as by Brazil. For Lopez and Don Pedro both struck medals in its honour. We have found on the corpse of a Paraguayan gunner one of the 11th June medals.”

On the 18th July a battle, at a place called El Sauce, is written of in the Paraguayan paper ‘El Seminario,’ as the death-blow to the triple alliance. “The action lasted ten hours, and we could see that the allied troops were all drunk, while they shouted, as they rushed on our lines, that they were going to finish Lopez and all Paraguayans. The enemy attacked our new trench near Mount Piris—our men were working at the trench, but said; ‘Let us whip these niggers before we go!’ From prisoners taken here we learn that the allied generals, in their official

reports, admit a loss of 3000 rank and file on the 24th May last,—which means in point of fact, 10,000.”

One of the grand Vivas! about the taking of a fort early in September, was published in an extraordinary edition of a Buenos Ayrean newspaper dated 11th of that month. It was said to be a fortress called Curuzu, that was an outpost of Curupaity. In a few hours after the arrival of this news by the steamer ‘Guarani,’ came intelligence per steamer ‘Cisne,’ that the fort captured had not hitherto been known about, and that as soon as taken, it had been occupied by 5000 Brazilians, who were at once blown into smash by the explosion of a mine, which had been prepared for their reception, before the place was evacuated by the Paraguayans. The only part of the last account which proved to be correct, was that the position had not been known to the general public. A young friend of mine who was on the spot on board the steamship ‘Evelyn’ at the time, thus writes to me:—“We saw the battle between the fleet and the fort of Curuzu quite plain. The iron-clads got a good peppering. As you are aware, it was taken by storm by the army under Porto Alegre. I went ashore a few hours after the struggle. I saw nearly 300 dead Paraguayans, and about half the number of defunct Brazilians. I was, however, informed, that most of the latter dead had been removed. Their loss was double that of the Paraguayans; and in the storming of the fort there were 8000 allies against 800 Paraguayans.”

On the 12th of this same month, September, a

conference was held between Lopez and Mitre, by invitation of the former, to try and arrange about terms of peace. This is known as the Yataiti-Cora interview. It lasted for five hours. Of course no one knew the drift of it save the principal actors. General Flores ceded to Mitre's request to be present, and was there for half-an-hour; but the Brazilian General Polidoro declined to go, on the ground that it was unnecessary, and that Mitre had full powers to act.

The only result of this meeting, which came before the public, was that Mitre, under date of September 14th, wrote to Lopez of his having communicated to the allied commanders the propositions made in their interview, and it was determined to submit these sentiments of Lopez to their respective Governments, without making any modifications in the position of the belligerents.

Of course public anxiety was for a considerable time on the *qui vive* to know the incidents of the peace propositions, as well as whether they were to be accepted or rejected. In Rio Janeiro, in Monte Video, in Buenos Ayres,—amongst the army, as well as the commercial circles, and all classes of residents in the River Plate countries, a general desire for the conclusion of the war was felt. It was seen that a year and a half had gone by since the first passage of arms,—with little progress made, save in the shedding of human blood, and the enormous outlay of money.

But "public anxiety" had to curb its longings in this case, as it has to do of many things in Spanish

South America; and had we not the undoubted proofs, one could scarcely believe that it was not until the month of June, 1867, or exactly nine months after the Yataiti-Cora interview, that the subject matter of that conference came before the public. This, too, from one of the principals in it.

The official newspapers in Buenos Ayres of June, 1867, published a letter from General Mitre to Vice-President Paz, dated Head-quarters at Curuzu, September 13th, 1866,—the very day after the conference be it remembered, in which Mitre makes the following statement:—"In the course of our interview General Lopez declared himself ready to treat on all questions, that may have led to the present war, or may affect our tranquillity for the future, so as to satisfy (as he says) the legitimate demands of the allies, including a definitive arrangement of frontiers, without accepting any imposition, and least of all his retirement from command in the Republic of Paraguay. In this sense he manifested his readiness to arrange on bases, and even make a treaty, which amounting to a negotiation not in harmony with the stipulations and objects of the triple alliance, I neither could nor ought to accept same,—but confined myself to hearing what he had to say, so as to communicate it to the allies as is expressed in the annexed memorandum."

Here we have it on the *ipsissima verba* of the President of the Argentine Republic himself, that Lopez made proposals for peace now nearly two years ago, and we know that such proposals were never either refused, accepted, rejected, or replied to, save in Mitre's concluding words to Lopez, "without

making any modifications in the position of the belligerents."

In the same letter Mitre records having given an opinion to Lopez, of his "considering it very difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at any arrangements, unless based on the conditions of the Triple Alliance Treaty, since the antecedents of the quarrel induced the allied peoples to believe, that no solid guarantees of future peace could be found outside of such conditions."

The principal corollaries of these conditions, however, namely, the capture and deposition of Lopez, with the razing to the ground of Humayita, being as yet unaccomplished, it remains to be seen in what manner may be arranged the fall of the curtain.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Further Proposals of Peace by Hon. Mr. Washburn and Mr. Gould — Failure of both — Objects of Mr. Gould's Mission to Paraguay — Points of its Success — Terms on which Peace was suggested — Reasons given for Refusal of these by the Paraguayans — British Subjects well treated in Paraguay — Paraguayan Remarks on our Breach of Neutrality — Commander Mitchell's Opinion on the Impregnability of Curupaity — Occupation of this Fort by the Allies — Battery of Palm-tree Guns, with Effigies of Men made of Hides and Straw — Savage Heroism at Pilar — Sortie of Paraguayans.

TOGETHER with the proposals for peace, mentioned in the last chapter, two attempts had been subsequently made, one in February, 1867, by Hon. Mr. Washburn, United States Minister at Asuncion, and the other in August of same year, by Mr. Gould, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation at Buenos Ayres.

Both failed, as I believe all such efforts will fail, until either the Triple Alliance Treaty be repealed, or the belligerents themselves ask for foreign intervention.

Early in 1867, General Ashboth, at the time United States Minister at Buenos Ayres, had communicated to Señor Rufino de Elizalde, then Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, the desire of Mr. Secretary Seward to offer a friendly mediation of his Government in the war with Paraguay.

The Argentines, however, declined the intervention. It may be seen by the Triple Alliance Treaty that any proposal of this kind needs to be accepted by all three of the contracting parties. And from

whatever cause this obstinacy may arise,—be it from pride, distrust, or a suspicion that such offers can come only from interested motives,—I again repeat my confidence, that the allies will accept no mediation proffered before they ask for it.

A few years ago, there appeared in the 'Messenger Franco-American' the bases of a treaty of alliance between the Central and South American republics, drawn up at a General Congress, lately held by their delegates. The object proposed in this was to form an alliance for the purpose of throwing obstacles in the way of European interference in American affairs; and it was framed with the expectation of including the republics of Salvador, Bolivia, the United States of Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. The idea, thus broached, having come to light soon after the occupation of Mexico by Maximilian, this fact was credited with its origin. The text of the treaty was to exist for a provisional period of fifteen years, and it was to have been ratified at Lima, in Peru, within two years from the first agreement at the Congress before mentioned. But although it has not yet been formally agreed to, its spirit exists in every South American Republic; and the presence of such a sentiment will be a serious obstacle to any friendly proposals of neutrality-negotiations, in this Paraguayan war, until the parties themselves ask for such an interference.\*

\* Against the Triple Alliance Treaty a very able protest was made by the Peruvian Government, dated Lima, July 9, 1866. This was addressed to the Peruvian Chargé d'Affaires near the Governments of Buenos Ayres, Monte Video, and Rio de Janeiro, and was signed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Señor Don T. Pacheco.

Mr. Gould had been instructed by Mr. G. Buckley Mathew, C.B., our then Minister at Buenos Ayres, to proceed in the gunboat 'Dotorel' to the seat of war, for the purpose of asking President Lopez to permit Dr. Fox with some other British subjects to leave Paraguay. During Mr. Gould's stay up there he proposed to President Lopez terms of peace, which it appears, proceeded from the Brazilian Minister in Buenos Ayres, and were approved of by President Mitre, as well as by Marques de Caxias, Commander-in-chief of the Brazilian forces in the allied camp. The terms suggested were, that the allies should evacuate Paraguay, and the Brazilian fleet the Paraguayan waters; that Lopez should resign the post of President, and at once leave for Europe for two years; that the expenses of the war be borne by the various belligerents respectively, and that the free navigation of the rivers be guaranteed.

Lopez refused these terms, or rather his secretary, Señor Don Luis Caminos declined them, as he observed that "the Republic of Paraguay will not stain its honour and glory by ever consenting that its President and defender, who has contributed to it so much military glory and has fought for its existence, should descend from his post, and still less suffer expatriation from the scene of his heroism and sacrifices, as those are for my country the best guarantee that Marshal Lopez will follow the lot which God has in store for the Paraguayan nation."

The mission of Mr. Gould to liberate British subjects was consummated by his having brought away

three widows, leaving behind (as Mr. Mathew observed to the former gentleman, "against their will, and in violation of Her Majesty's proclamation"\*) from eighty-five to ninety British subjects, including women and children.

Of these Mr. Gould writes to Mr. Mathew from Paraguayan Head-quarters, Paso Pucu, Sept. 10th, 1867:†—"They are all (the British subjects), with one single exception, I believe, in the Government (Paraguayan) service. Their contracts were made in England, and afterwards renewed in this country; but most of these contracts have expired since the beginning of the present war. These British subjects have in general been very well treated by the President, and their salaries are regularly paid even now."

The secretary, Don Luis Caminos, in reply to Mr. Gould's request for liberty that these people should depart, states‡ that the Paraguayan Government is not aware of any British subject evincing a wish to leave, and declares it impossible, owing to the peculiar position of military operations, to sanction the departure of these men. In the same dispatch, Señor Caminos reminds Mr. Gould that the new Minister, Mr. Mathew, in Buenos Ayres, had not yet presented his credentials to nor been accredited by the Paraguayan Government, and moreover points out that this demand was made "at a moment when the enemy of our country enlists British subjects amongst its

\* Vide 'Parliamentary Paper,' River Plate, No. 1 (1868): Correspondence respecting Hostilities in the River Plate, p. 3.

† Idem, p. 15.

‡ Idem, p. 20.

troops, provides itself in England with all the war-material it requires, and obtains money by public loans in order to be enabled to carry on the war against the friendly people of Paraguay."

In the same book of Correspondence we observe\* a Report on this expedition, addressed to Admiral Ramsay by Lieut.-Commander Mitchell, R.N., H.M. gunboat 'Dotorel.' He writes :—"At Curupaity, whilst waiting for Mr. Gould and the British subjects, I had the honour of being presented to President Lopez, who received me most kindly, showing me from a high position, with a powerful spyglass, the whole of the lines and trenches at Curupaity, which are of great strength, and, I believe, impregnable to the allies. The troops appeared in good health and spirits, and are an extraordinary fine race of men. They do not suffer half the hardships that are reported. Large quantities of cattle and sheep were in the camps."

Curupaity was not occupied by the allies until March, 1868, although Mr. Gould mentions† on September 20th, 1867, that "the whole of the river-front or right of the Paraguayan camp is exposed to the fire of the fleet." At the period first mentioned of its being taken possession of by the allies, there was one small field-piece found within the walls, and the place seemed to have been deserted for some months previously. The works when taken had a battery composed of forty sham guns made of the trunks of palm-trees, covered with hides and mounted on old cart-wheels. The troops in garrison consisted

\* Op. cit., p. 39.

† Op. cit., p. 32.

of some thirty or forty effigies, made of straw stuffed into hides, who were placed as sentinels in such positions as to be visible to the storming-party.

Subsequent to the capture of Curuzu, we have the taking of Pilar above Humayita on the 19th September, by General Hornos, an Argentine officer. This step was accomplished by making a circuitous route behind Humayita from San Solano, and crossing Arroyo Hondo. The place was not held for much time, as the Paraguayan commander, Galen, landed with a force of soldiers from the Paraguayan steamer 'Birabebe,' and, charging the invaders, drove them out.

Connected with the attack on this place, for the details whereof, as of many others, we must wait till the war is over, I have learned one instance of what may be styled Paraguayan female savagery of heroism here, which is worth recording.

In the neighbourhood of Pilar there lived at the time it was entered by the allied soldiers under Hornos, a woman named Francisca Cabrera. She dwelt in a rather isolated *locale*,—no one but a very old man and his wife being resident within some leagues of her abode. As soon as she heard of the enemy approaching, and with the consciousness of being perfectly defenceless, she took up a large knife, and made off as fast as she could, to a neighbouring forest with her four little ones. Arriving in a shady place, she gathered her youngsters around her, and drawing the knife from where it had been concealed in her bosom, thus addressed the eldest boy—speaking through him to the others—in Guarani:—"My sons,

we are pursued by the Brazilian long-tailed\* negroes, who come to take away and enslave us. But I, with this knife, have sworn to defend myself to death ere I submit to them. I call upon you, my boys, to respect your mother's oath, and follow in her footsteps—to cut the hearts of the Brazilians, as far as you are able, into little pieces, before you allow them to take you away and make slaves of you!”

I am told by a friend, who translated this, that the force and energy of the original cannot be translated into Spanish.

After Curuzu had been occupied, and again deserted by the allies, the Paraguayans, on the 3rd of November, made a dash from their trenches against the allies, whom they always entitle the invaders, then encamped at a place called Paso Chenar. But the Brazilians claim the victory here, as having repulsed the Paraguayans. It is, however, somewhat curious that our Secretary of Legation at Rio, Hon. J. J. Pakenham, writes† of this surprise of 3rd November: —“A curious circumstance connected with the recent engagement is that the vanquished (Paraguayans) seized, and were able to carry off several pieces of artillery belonging to the victors!”

On the 19th February in this year of grace (1868) the passage of the Humaita was effected. The report of Baron de Imhauma, commander-in-chief of the squadron, chronicles in a somewhat egotistical style the glorious feat of “the six men-of-war, with the

\* The epithet of “rabilargos” (the long-tailed) is used as a nickname by the Paraguayans to the Brazilians; and the Argentine allies of the latter generally speak of them as “Macacos,” monkeys.

† Vide ‘River Plate Correspondence,’ op. cit., p. 41.

Brazilian flag triumphantly waving, having passed Humayita,—surmounting the chains and torpedoes, which eminent seamen of the three great maritime nations pronounced beyond the reach of the most powerful fleet to overcome.”

I mean no disparagement to the Brazilians in this or any other case (for all through this war they have exhibited bravery); but it ought to be known that the chain passed by the fleet was not cut down, nor dismounted. They simply floated over it, in consequence of the water having risen many feet above. Of this I have corroboration in a dispatch of Mr. Gould's to Lord Stanley,\* dated May 28th, 1868, or four months after the monitors passed up, where writing of the American gun-boat ‘Wasp,’ proceeding to Tacuari, he says:—“It will necessitate the difficult operation of twice lowering the chain which bars the navigation of the river at Humayita.”

The passage of Humayita was a great achievement,—but as the fort has not been destroyed, nor any more Paraguayan territory occupied since the passage, we must wait to see what results are to follow.

\* Vide ‘Correspondence respecting Hostilities in the River Plate,’ No. 2, p. 38. 1868.



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

Attack on Monitors by a Fleet of Canoes — Dogged Bravery of the Paraguayans — Refusing to be Saved from Drowning — Cursory Review of War Operations — Forces of Allies and Paraguayans — Paraguayans reduced to Old Women for Soldiers — Cry for more Brazilian Troops — Brazilian Neutrality in the River Plate — Protest of Brazilian Minister — Probable Termination of War by Blockade — Sentiments of the Paraguayans themselves on this Subject — Their own Words, and not the Author's.

ON the 7th of March, subsequent to the passing of Humayita, the Baron de Imhauma reports an attack, made by a fleet of canoes on these monitors that had proceeded up. This consisted of forty-eight canoes, lashed together by twos, with twenty-five men in each. Fourteen of these assaulted, whilst their occupants boarded the monitors 'Lima' and 'Barrios,' and twelve the 'Cabal.' The crews of these ships went below, and fastening the hatchways, kept the invaders on deck. Then the monitors 'Silvado' and 'Herval' bore down, and swept the boarders from the decks of the others with destructive discharges of grape-shot. The Baron's report continues:—"The 'Herval' and 'Silvado' killed a great number in the water, who had thrown themselves overboard, when I attacked the ironclads that had been boarded. I endeavoured to save some, ordering boats to be lowered for that purpose; *but they refused any help, and preferred to die.*"

It is but justice to say, that, except in the simple

case of Uruguayana, this is the spirit which actuates the Paraguayan soldier everywhere, and which confirms me in the belief, I formed three years ago, that it is a war "of which no one can give an explanation, or foresee the end."

It may not be out of place here to give a cursory summary of what has passed in this fighting.

Since the war was begun, the allies, according to their own bulletins, have killed more than twice the whole population of Paraguay. In June, 1865, the aggregate of the allied troops was set down by their own official journals as 60,000, combining the united arms of the empire of Brazil with the Argentine and Uruguayan republics. From the same authority we are told that the Paraguayans could muster no more than 30,000 men,—and ever since it is daily forced into our ears, that the latter were reduced to fighting with imbecile old men, women, and children. Yet in spite of this we have it on the authority of the Brazilian minister of war, that from 27th October, 1867, to 10th February, 1868 (or little more than three months), 19,000 recruits have been sent to Paraguay; and the cry is still for more.\*

I am no partizan of Lopez. But justice obliges me to look on this desolating war with an impartial eye. Whilst the Brazilians disclaim any intention of meddling in River Plate affairs, other than protecting their sub-

\* In the last 'Correspondence respecting Hostilities in the River Plate,' No. 2, 1868. Our Minister at Rio de Janeiro, Mr. Mathew, under date June 8th, 1868, writes to Lord Stanley:—"The Minister states that the number of Brazilian troops sent to the war up to the 30th April last was 66,706, and that the number of deaths arising from wounds and sickness, including those killed in battle, amounted to 8175."

jects resident in these republics, it may be no harm to observe the following. From a dispatch of Señor Don Antonio de los Correrias, Brazilian Minister at Monte Video, I take this extract out of a letter addressed by that gentleman to Mr. Lettsom, Her Majesty's Chargé-d'affaires and Consul-general at Monte Video.\* This communication forms an inclosure in a dispatch from Mr. Lettsom to Earl Russell, and is dated Monte Video, January 29th, 1865 :—"The declarations of the Imperial Government to the effect that it will cause the strictest neutrality to be maintained, although they have served to silence the just complaints of the Republican Government, have demonstrated, by the denial of facts, the perfidy of that policy in its most repulsive nakedness ; and if to prove that complicity it were necessary to offer evidence, no more conclusive testimony can be afforded than what is brought forward by Senhor Saraiva in the catalogue of Brazilian grievances on which he founds his ultimatum. 'In the fight at Tres Cruces,' he says, 'which took place in June last year, *several Brazilians belonging to the forces of General Flores*, who were at San Eugenio and Santa Rosa, fell into the hands of Colonel Don Lucas Piriz. Six of these Brazilians were put to death by order of this Colonel Piriz.† This outrage took place on the 19th day of same month of June, in the vicinity of the river Patitas or island of Cabello. The names of the victims, *according to public reports*, were José de Almeida, Domingo Penafiel, Luis Mon-

\* Vide 'Correspondence respecting Hostilities in the River Plate,' part iii., 1856, p. 114.

† Who of course found it rather difficult to understand their neutrality.

teiro, Joaquin Monteiro, Manuel Joaquin, and Fidencio José. In furtherance of the order of the Imperial Government, the Legation of this city made an energetic remonstrance on the 25th April ultimo, against this barbarous outrage. No reply was elicited.' "

In a common-sense point of view it appears to me not easy to understand how, on grounds of neutrality, Brazilians fighting in the ranks of General Flores, who was at the time a rebel against the constituted Government, could be exempted from the ordinary fate of belligerents. Apropos of the same matter, I may add, that since General Flores was assassinated in Monte Video his sons have been under the protection of the Brazilian Government in Rio de Janeiro.\*

If my opinion be asked as to the conclusion of the Paraguayan war, I candidly confess that I have none to give at the present time. Independent of the several prophecies about its drawing to an end, that during the last three years have turned out to be so many *fiascos*, there might appear to be a well-founded reasoning in the faith of some persons, that the blockade must wear out the resources of the Paraguayans. Of this I have nothing either to confirm or contradict, except that the people themselves laugh such an idea to scorn. The Paraguayan needs nothing for his subsistence but Maté tea and Mandioca. A red shirt serves even the general, when on service, for clothing. Their newspapers aver, that it is ridiculous to suppose a republic of 25,000 leagues of superficies,—furnished with a soil of unspeakable fertility, and peopled by two mil-

\* By mail arriving in London 20th August we have news of the eldest son having returned to Monte Video.

lions of laborious, intelligent, and brave inhabitants, is to be reduced by such a necessity. The country, they say, has stood isolated from the world for seven and twenty years, without being sensible of any deprivation. Since the commencement of the war, the female population have taken the posts of the men in agricultural pursuits. The hatchet, the plough, and the axe have done wonderful things in the hands of the Paraguayan women. Indeed, so much so, that the agricultural produce this year (1867) is not only sufficient for the people and the army, but presents an extraordinary surplus.

“Industry is developing itself in this time of war. The manufacture of cotton and woollen cloths is multiplying and ameliorating, in such a manner, that they can now compete with foreign goods in price and quality. Powder, the making of which has been familiar from the days of Francia, is now made of superior quality and in large quantities. The paper on which ‘El Seminario’ and ‘El Cabichui’ are printed is fabricated at home. Iron is abundant in our mines, and our arsenal is frequently turning out new rifled cannon.

“Moreover, with Bolivia a treaty has been made, by which that republic is allowed in its trade with Paraguay exemption of all import as of export duties. *Risum teneatis amici!*” they conclude, “at the supposition that Paraguay is to be conquered by blockade!”

These are their words and statements,—not mine !

## CHAPTER XL.

Revolution in Santa Fé — Causes of *Odium Theologicum* against Governor Oroño — Excommunication by the Bishop — Contra-fulmination by Oroño — The Civil Marriage Law — Beginning of Revolution in Santa Fé City — Difficulty to understand its *Rationale* — Oroño's Application to the National Government for Assistance — Flight from Santa Fé — Entrance of the Insurgents to Rosario — Muddle of Officials — Pursuing Men and firing through the Streets — Amenities of Police Administration — Discretion of a Commandante the better part of Valor — 'El Filibusterismo' — Assault and Robbery of two English Gentlemen — Promiscuous Murders.

TOWARDS the close of his administration, Governor Oroño was made by the Federal party to appear very unpopular. One thing that was mainly instrumental in fructifying, if it did not germinate, the Santa Fé revolution of 1867-68, was the *Odium Theologicum*, engendered towards him by two causes.

Of these the first was the attempt made, during his administration, to expropriate the lands and building of San Carlos convent at San Lorenzo, to the purpose of a model school for agriculture. In reply to a remonstrance against his proceedings in this matter from General Urquiza, Oroño pointed out, that he did not desire, as was imputed to him, to take their possessions from the Padres without an equivalent compensation; that the site of San Carlos was of no use to them in a missionary point of view, whereas it would be excellent for an agricultural college,\* conducted by secular teachers; and that if

\* It is situated sixteen miles distant from Rosario.

the monks would come to terms, he was prepared to give them a new house and church at Calchines, near the old Jesuit missionary establishment at San Xavier in the Gran Chaco, together with a subsidy of 30,000 Bolivian dollars (or about 5000*l.*) from the Provincial Government. This, however, was not agreed to, and the opposition continued. The other cause was an endeavour at undermining ecclesiastical discipline, and privileges by the "Civil Marriages Act," that received the approbation of Government and became law on 26th September, 1867.

On the very day after this law was passed, the bishop of the diocese issued a protest, which was virtually an excommunication, against any or every person who had ought to do with the fabrication of this bill beforehand, or carrying out its provisions hereafter. Then in four days after (or on 1st October) Oroño comes out with a decree ordering the circulation of the bishop's thunder to be stopped, and enjoining a punishment by imprisonment as well as fine, on all who would go against this decree. The civil marriage law was, I believe, chiefly sanctioned at the request, and on behalf of, the colonists of Esperanza, San Carlos, and San Geronimo.

About the same time that the foregoing became law, was passed a bill, which transferred the management of cemeteries from the clergy to the municipalities. This was said to have been caused by the acts of the former, in more than one case, denying the rights of sepulture (including the burial in consecrated ground) to some freemasons, although they were Roman Catholics, who died at Santa Fé and Paraná.

The *rationale* of such a revolution as that which finished Oroño's governorship in Santa Fé, at the end of 1867 and beginning of 1868, is very difficult to be understood, as may appear from the following data.

Early on the morning of Dec. 22nd, the city of Santa Fé, the capital of the province, was invaded by a small party of rebels, chiefly soldiers from the country barracks of Sauce, to the west of Esperanza colony. These were repulsed, according to the official report, by the National Guards who were in the garrison of the city. But on the same day a solicitude was sent by Governor Oroño to the National Minister of War at Buenos Ayres, asking for intervention, or in fact assistance, to put down the rebels.

Two days after, or on the 24th of said month, Oroño writes to the same minister, saying that the intervention previously solicited was now rendered unnecessary, inasmuch as the rebels had submitted to the constituted authorities. And yet on the very same evening of this last-mentioned day (the 24th) the said Governor Oroño, in order to save his life, had to escape from his capital, through menaces of his throat being cut on that night. With some other companions of his misfortune, he left Santa Fé quietly in a small boat at midnight,—bear in mind, please, that it was midnight of the day in which he had assured the war minister that the rebels had given in to him, the legally constituted authority; and as the flame of rebellion had already reached Rosario, the navigators passed (Oroño himself told me) four days and five nights feeding on thistle roots, amongst the islands that lie between Coronda on the Santa Fé side, and Diamante on that of Entre Rios.



On the very day that Oroño left Santa Fé, Colonel Patricio Rodriguez, Lieut.-Colonel Nelson, and Señor Jose Fidel Paz, with about 1000 to 1500 Gauchos, armed with lances, took possession of Rosario. For some days previous the inhabitants had been expecting this invasion, as the Gauchos with their leaders were known to be near the city. The chief magistrate in authority, Don Ruiz Moreno, a young man, who was Gefe Politico, after trying to compromise the Consular body, by offering to hand over to them the guardianship of the city, had departed on the previous night, as he said, on account of having no troops, either provincial or national, to defend the citizens' rights. But he celebrated his last day in Rosario by riding through the streets on a white horse, swinging a revolver in his hand, and calling on all natives as well as foreigners to barricade their houses, and prepare for the attack on the town that was expected to be made that night. Whilst he was doing this Bob Acres piece of business, eight soldiers of the line galloped up the Calle Aduana in pursuit of a fugitive Colorado of the rebel party. They fired at him in chase, the balls of their carbines and revolvers promiscuously striking doors, windows, and walls of houses (it being a business part of the town, and where the shops were all open), as they went along. The run-a-way escaped by the fleetness of his horse; but the miracle was, that some person walking in the street, or standing inside a store was not shot.

Amongst the amenities of police administration at this time, I may mention, that on the same day as the foregoing incidents occurred, two drunken fellows were fighting in the Plaza de Carretas, as they always

do, with knives. The South American will tell you that this is the only gentlemanly weapon to battle with, more especially *en duello*. For the Gringo (foreigner) boxes with his fists, whilst the horse, dog, and other animals generally wage war with their feet and mouths. But as these two combatants were lunging and making passes—using their ponchos as they do for shield—a vigilante, or policeman, coming up, without one word of inquiry as to the cause of the fight, drew his sword and cut one of the men down with a terrific gash in the skull. Then this poor fellow was dragged off to prison, where he soon died of the wound inflicted by the policeman, into whose conduct no inquiry was made; and the other combatant was allowed to go scot free.

Such was the state of affairs, when Colonels Rodriguez and Nelson placed José Fidel Paz at the head of affairs in Rosario by appointing him Gefe Politico, or Chief Magistrate. This they averred to have done by the imperious demand of “public opinion,” at whose sovereign call alone, Mr. Paz assured me, that he would *only* attempt to establish law and order. The citizens did not at once give their confidence to the new authorities, for the Custom-house was barricaded with bales of hay; and the northern entrance to Calle Cordoba was blocked up with bales of cotton goods.

Adjoining this last barricade was the house of a Commandante, near to whose residence a pile of bricks was being used to assist in the barricading. On the azotea of his residence was a sentinel, who gave notice that some of the insurgents were approaching, when he ordered his men to drop the bricks, and get up the

ladder to the roof, at the same time adding a very wise precaution to them, not to fire till he was up amongst them.

Meanwhile on this first morning of occupation, the Republican spirit, which the newspaper of Santa Fé entitled 'El Filibusterismo,' became rampant in in the town. A lot of Gauchos, under the command of Nelson and Paz, went to the house of Señor Don Luis Lamas y Hunt, who was son-in-law to Dr. Freyre, that had been proposed to succeed Oroño, and took away all the money they could get, as well as destroyed much furniture, making prisoners of Lamas y Hunt as well as Freyre. Another band, without a leader, stopped two English gentlemen, Messrs. Wheatley and Straubenzi, on their way to the railway station, and robbed them,—one, of his money, gold watch and chain, and the other, of all the silver dollars that were in his tirador, or belt. In a short time after, they made a raid on the stables of the Centro-Argentine Railway station, from which they took off forty horses.

As day wore on, little incidents like the following came to be known, not far from my house: One of the Moreno party was murdered in his own patio, or courtyard, his wife having been confined the week before, and his child having died on the previous night. Contiguous to this another man was assassinated, and his body thrown amongst the hemlock; whilst not far off, a little boy was found with his throat cut, and the corpse nailed up in an empty beer-barrel.

On the succeeding day some of the invaders, who felt rather thirsty, went into a pulperia, or public house, at the corner of Calle Rioja, and demanded

liquor. The shopman refused, and then one of the party fired at him out of a revolver. But as happens in 99 cases out of 100 with the Gaucho's aim, the man fired at was missed, whilst a young boy, standing only a few yards off, was shot through the skull.

The Chief Magistrate, Ruiz Moreno, having left the town, the police authorities by day, and the street watchmen (Serenos) by night, were at liberty to disband. Of this privilege they were not long in availing themselves, whilst the imperative "law and order" call of Mr. Paz had not yet become realized into a practical fact of police administration.

## CHAPTER XLI.

Chaos setting in at Rosario—Arrival of two Gunboats—Threatened Attack on Rosario's Custom-house—Firing on the City by the national steamer 'Guardia Nacional'—Tearing up Rails of the Centro-Argentine Railway—Official Protest against the National Troops bringing Cholera to Rosario, *i.e.* "Coals to Newcastle"—Double-dealing of the Gefe Politico—Means taken to defend the Custom-house—British Property injured by firing from 'Guardia Nacional'—Protest against this unprecedented Act—Apology by Commander of Steamer—Failure of the Hygienic Dodge causing tearing-up of Rails—Suspension of Traffic—Insoluble Riddles of the Revolution.

As Chaos seemed to be now setting in at Rosario, I lost no time in writing to Mr. Gould, our active Chargé-d'affaires at Buenos Ayres, for a gunboat; and in a very short time H.M. gunboat 'Spider,' Lieut.-Commander Prosser, R.N., came up. She was followed in a few days by H.M. gunboat 'Dotorel,' Lieut.-Commander Scott. The presence of these steamers in the harbour, during the month of January, served as an assurance of protection to, and generated much confidence amongst, the English residents, whilst acting as a very efficient moral-force power to counteract the marauding dispositions of the belligerents.

The threatened attack on the Custom-house,—the firing on the city by the national steamer 'Guardia Nacional,'—and tearing up of the rails at the Roldan station, as well as at the Carcarana bridge of the Centro-Argentine Railway, were the chief important episodes, that characterized the revolution in the month of January.

During the whole of this month the town was in a condition of extraordinary anomaly. As soon as the insurgents had put themselves into harness, and had learned that a force of national troops was coming from the interior under Generals Paunero and Martinez, they sent an official protest against the soldiers bringing the cholera to Rosario. This too at a time when, out of a population of 8000 in that city, there were 100 to 120 deaths per day. The plan here mentioned of objecting to coals being brought to Newcastle was an attempt of the new Gefe Politico, Mr. Paz. He wrote to me, as Doyen of the Consular body, an invitation to attend a meeting at the Municipality, and to ask the other Consuls to accompany me. The ostensible object of this meeting was to consult and deliberate about the best means to be adopted in regard to the hygiene of the town, so as to try and quench-out the cholera. To the reunion I went with a few of my colleagues. But when I saw that Mr. Paz's ideas of hygienic preventive were limited to asking us to sign a protest against the coming-in of the national troops, on the plea of their bringing cholera with them, I at once objected, because the whole population were anxiously expecting the arrival of the national forces to re-establish proper authority. When I charged Mr. Paz with what appeared "double dealing" in this case, he sent to me a dispatch of four sheets of foolscap in length as a justification. But the pith of this lengthy document is contained in these words:—"I invited the Consular body on this occasion to listen to its enlightened judgment; as whenever an occurrence like the present offers itself, it will be very

satisfactory to me to justify my acts with the opinions of persons, foreign to our intestine strifes." These sentiments, I need scarcely say, were considered, by the other consuls as well as myself, to be entirely wide of our duties, as of the prerogatives of Mr. Paz.

Mr. Yaniz, Administrador of the Rosario Custom-house, communicated to me, that the foreign merchants had informed him of an intended attack to be made on the Custom-house for the purpose of obtaining some arms and ammunition deposited therein. As more than nine-tenths of the property in this place belonged to the foreigners, and no small share of it to the English, I wrote to Lieut.-Commander Prosser, suggesting that he would make some arrangements with the commander of the Italian gunboat 'Ardita,' to place the Custom-house and its contents under protection of the war-steamers. This he at once did. The 'Spider' was moved to a position near the lower end of the building, whilst the 'Ardita' was placed at the opposite. Then both vessels had command over the road and street, leading down on either side to the deposit. This arrangement being effected, I deemed it expedient to communicate to Mr. Paz the fact of the whole property at the Custom-house being, at request of the national Administrador, placed under protection of the foreign gunboats. Whatever extent these regulations had in preventing the place being sacked, I cannot say,—but no attack was made.

The firing of cannon-balls from the national war-steamer, 'Guardia Nacional,'—and this done without any notice being given—was a cause of no small alarm. That war-ship, being one of three, which con-

stitute the Argentine navy, approached near to a mole of Mr. Cabal's to take off some coal. It was said she was about to do it *vi et armis*, because Cabal, being under suspicion of having originated the rebellion, was considered to have his property forfeited,—when she was fired at by some soldiers with carbines from the shore. Some say the steamer fired first; others aver the soldiers were the beginners. However, that may have been, the steamer drew off to the centre of the river, and poured shot into the town. The twenty-four pounder balls, whether aimed at the Gaucho soldiers on the banks or not, went promiscuously over and into the city, striking the Centro-Argentine Railway office, the house of Mr. Wood, C.E., and the house of Mr. Guizitti—the last-named having been struck with seven cannon-balls.

As soon as it was communicated to me that the two first-mentioned had received damage,—for they were both English—I sent on board the 'Spider,' a written request to Commander Prosser, that he would take measures to prevent the recurrence of such an outrage on British property. This he did effectually by going on board the 'Guardia Nacional' himself. He subsequently informed me, that the Commander tried to justify his firing, by stating the fact of one of his officers being killed by shots from the shore, before he had ordered the discharge of a single gun.

At a meeting which I summoned specially for the purpose, the Consular body protested against the unprecedented conduct of the Commander of the 'Guardia Nacional,' in firing cannon-balls on a perfectly defenceless town, and without giving any notice, more par-



ticularly as the lives and properties in Rosario are represented, in more than two-thirds, by foreigners.

In a week after, when the 'Guardia Nacional' returned from Buenos Ayres, her Commander, Captain Pi, went on board the 'Dotorel' to apologize by command of President Mitre, for having fired on the town, and to express a desire that such apology should be communicated to the resident foreigners.

As soon as it was found that the Hygienic dodge set forth by Mr. Paz to protest against the coming in of the national troops was of no avail, and that a train was actually sent out to bring them, a number of Gaucho soldiers went along the line of the Centro-Argentine Railway. In the neighbourhood of the first station at Roldan, they presented carbines to the heads of the workmen to compel them to show how the rails could be torn up. And having practised this knowledge here, they proceeded thence to the Carcunana bridge with their tools, which they took from the workmen, and there tore up more rails, as well as tried to set fire to the woodwork of the bridge.

Whilst this work was being perpetrated, Mr. Paz wrote a letter to Mr. Ogilvie, the traffic manager of the line, forbidding any train to go out. When the rails were torn up, permission was granted to send a train, which permission was again withdrawn!!

In the meantime, the traffic was suspended,—the two trains which had gone out for the national troops could not return on account of damage done to the road; and there was another passenger train on the line—three altogether,—about the fate of which nothing could be ascertained.

I therefore wrote a note to Mr. Paz, demanding that an engine with carriages, spare rails, and men to repair the road, be allowed to proceed out,—holding him responsible for the damage done to British property in this case by the rebel soldiers, whether they were acting under his orders or not. He permitted the train to go, accompanied by two of his own officials,—no doubt sent to make observations,—the road was repaired, and it was found, that the national troops, under General Martinez, Minister of War, were at the Canada de Gomez station, on the northern side of the Carcarana river. Four commissioners, namely, Messrs. Laprade, Diaz, Velez, and Grasso, had been appointed to carry out the hygienic programme before mentioned; but they all four got sick at the same moment, and consequently could not go to the encampment of General Martinez. On the morning after this, Mr. Paz himself went out by train to the Minister of War,—exhibiting a little of his constitutionalism at the railway station by ordering to prison an English subject, Mr. Perkins, who was obliged to take refuge in my house, or go to the common prison, amongst cut-throats.

Now here is one of the insoluble riddles of this revolution. On the very day (18th January) that Señor Paz, the head rebel leader, went out to treat with a National Minister, who was in command of 2000 men, a proclamation was issued by the National commissioner, Dr. Pico, declaring the doings of the rebels to be seditious, both according to the national and provincial constitution, and holding them responsible before the nation for all the misdeeds, that resulted

from this revolution. Mr. Paz spent the day pleasantly with the Minister, who with his army had arrived to the southern side of the Carcarana, or within 30 miles of Rosario. The Minister sent a troop of horse to escort Mr. Paz back to town. The army encamped on the 17th January, at a distance of 30 miles, and alongside a railway station, did not enter Rosario until 26th of same month, or nine days after, and during this time the population were at the mercy of lawless Gauchos, with no municipal or other administrative government, save the self-imposed one of the insurgents.

It is difficult to reconcile any part of these transactions under their general heading of Revolution with our English notions of law and order.

## CHAPTER XLII.

Subsequent Revolutionary Proceedings — To guarantee the "Liberty of Suffrage" — Pusillanimity — Exit of the Rebels, and Entrance of the National Troops — Colonel Martinez de Hoz — National Minister, Dr. Costa, and his Mission — Rebels pillaging round the Town whilst National Troops were stationed therein — Failure of Minister Costa's Negotiations with the Rebels — His Departure for the Capital, Santa Fé — Pretensions of President of Legislature to assume the Post of Governor — Departure of National Troops from Rosario, and Re-entrance of Rebels — Oroño put into Prison by Insurgents — Return of Dr. Costa from Santa Fé — His Liberation of Oroño — Our own Man to be Governor — The Curtain falls — Last Tableau — Argentine Volunteers.

THE subsequent proceedings of the revolutionary epoch are not less incomprehensible than those related in the last chapter.

The National commissioner, Doctor Pico, who was in the harbour of Rosario, on board the war-steamer 'Chucabuco,' asked permission from Colonel Rodriguez, — the insurgent chief in command of the town, — to land a picket of national forces on the 23rd of January, the day fixed for the election, in order, as he said, "to guarantee the liberty of suffrage." Let it be observed, that 2000 national troops were for six days previous (as seen at end of last chapter), within thirty miles of the place. Even though the rebels knew of the proximity of these soldiers, they refused Doctor Pico's request. No election was held, — for the programme was not yet complete.

On the 26th of January the rebels went out, and a

few hours after the national troops walked in. Little or nothing was done to change the actual condition of affairs, except the nomination as *Gefe Politico*, of Dr. E. Perez, who was succeeded in a few days by Señor Aldao. The general public, however, felt more comfortable at having the national and legal authorities once more in power. Old General Martinez died a few days after coming in, at the Hotel de Paz. To Colonel Martinez de Hoz, who was in military command, much praise is due for the efficient discipline under which he kept his troops whilst in town.

Then arrives from Buenos Ayres the National Minister of Education,—and a member of the Cabinet,—Doctor Costa, to try and arrange matters. He finds, that the national troops had been remaining at rest in the Plaza, whilst the rebels were pillaging *estancias* round the city. He learns, that after seven days of this work from the evacuation on the 26th of January, General Conesa addressed an order of the day to his soldiers of the national troops, in which the rebels are spoken of as a horde of undisciplined *Gauchos*, whom it will be easy to conquer. The General then calls upon his troops to accompany him and meet the enemy in battle. It is a day in Rosario “big with the fate”—not of Cæsar and of Rome, but—of Cabal and Santa Fé. Messages are brought in of varying tendencies, hinging on the report of the armies having met at a distance of about two leagues outside the town. Some said, that Conesa’s troops had been cut to pieces, and that the rebels were in march once more on the city; others averred that Rodriguez had been taken prisoner,—Nelson killed,—and the *Gauchos* sent flying over the

camp like so many scared ostriches ; but the next morning brings the truth, that there had been no fight at all, with the incidental corollary, that a battle had been stopped by Minister Costa, with the praiseworthy desire of arranging matters amicably, and thus avoiding the effusion of blood.

Well. Another day passes, and out goes Minister Costa to the encampment of Don Patricio Rodriguez to treat with the rebels!! It was believed that the interview ended in nothing, from the fact of Colonel Rodriguez refusing terms of peace, unless on condition of the renouncement of authority by Governor Oroño, and the payment by the national Government of the costs of the revolution! This latter proposition need not surprise my readers, when they are told of several horses stolen during the rebellion being returned to their owners, with the indispensable condition of said owners paying full value to the thief for them. Such a thing may appear a new phase of making a profit out of pillage ; but it is nevertheless a fact.

Doctor Costa, finding his mission in Rosario not to be successful, proceeded to the capital at Santa Fé, where Dr. Jose Benito Grana, President of the Superior Court of Justice, had assumed the command of the province. The latter founded his pretensions on the assumption of the legitimate Governor having absented himself from the provincial territory, without permission of the Legislature.

The error of this idea may be perceived, by what I have already mentioned of the causes of Oroño's going. On the very day after Costa's departure from Rosario, the national troops there were all embarked

on board steamers, bound for the seat of war at Paraguay. No sooner had they departed than into town came the rebels again, with Nelson and Rodriguez. An old man, named Aaron Castellanos, was appointed to be Gefé Politico; whilst Oroño was taken out of his own house, and put into prison at the Gefatura.

In some days after, Dr. Costa returned from Santa Fé, in the war-steamer 'Chucabuco,'—landed at Rosario, although it was in possession of the rebels,—walked up to the Gefatura prison—and brought Oroño out with him. He then proceeded to Buenos Ayres with Oroño.

The rebels are left in possession of the town, although a national official, Señor Yaniz, presides over the Custom-house, and another national official, Señor Don Juan Martin, remains undisturbed as captain of the port. In fact the insurgents virtually declare:—"We are not fighting against the national Government; it is only against Oroño, his family, and nominees. We want our own man to be Governor."

And certain enough, on the 12th of March, the election of the new Governor was effected by Don Mariano Cabal, who had a walk over the course.

What I state here I know to be facts. I shall not weaken them by attributing credit to any rumours,—of Rodriguez and Nelson having consented to give up the arms and horses as well as return to their allegiance,—of their being opposed in this by Paz,—of Dr. Costa having through the whole affair the candidature of Elizalde for the Presidency in his mind's eye, and of many similar items of small-talk. But the whole affair of the revolution may be considered in

any point of view, to have been an enigma, unless of course to the chief actors in it.

About this time there came down one evening by the railway train to Rosario, a contingent of soldiers, ninety-six in number, from Tucuman and Salta, for the Paraguayan war. Amongst them were thirty others—the most forbidding countenances I ever saw—who were handcuffed and fettered. The latter came under the title of “Voluntarios,” or volunteers, for the ninety-six were soldiers of the line. The manacled part of this *corps d’armée* was got safe on board the steamer; but when the soldiers were being brought by their officers, they stopped just after passing the Custom-house, and two of them shot two of the officers through the brain. The whole group then dispersed, passing up through the principal Plaza, and by the door of the Gefatura, escaping to the camp. No attempt—nor even pretence at attempt—was made by the rebels in power to capture them; for the Paraguayan war is becoming so unpopular, that the sympathy of the people is with every one who can draw out of it.

Here I may give translation of a truthful sketch of our volunteers by Monsieur Poucel: \* — “The paradoxes of civil war have for a long time admitted, as volunteers in the Rio de la Plata districts those poor peasants, who see themselves from one moment to another forcibly taken from their huts in spite of the cries of their wives and children, and pressed into service by the partisans of Chief A. or Chief X. indifferently. The greater portion of these unfortunate

\* ‘Paraguay Moderne,’ par Benjamin Poucel, p. 241. Marseilles, 1867.



beings do not know the why or wherefore of their being compelled to kill one another. Thus when the soldier of Chief A. becomes the prisoner of Chief X., he is obliged to serve under and fight for the latter as he had done under his own master, till the chances of guerilla warfare bring him back to his original chief. Then, on being questioned as to why he is found fighting for his master's enemy, he answers, "Quien sabe? What do you want? I was a volunteer, brought to enlist, tied elbow to elbow, and I did what I was told." This is, in fact, the real meaning of Argentine volunteers; for they are tied elbow to elbow till they come to where a guard can be placed over them.

The appearance of these poor fellows at the railway station brought to my mind a tale which had been told to me some time previously by a gentleman, who assured me he saw the letter in question, written by the Governor, whose name it would not of course be prudent to give. The Minister of War had written to one of the provincial potentates for another lot of volunteers to send to Paraguay; and the answer was, that a large troupe would be sent down as soon as the Minister would remit back the fetters and handcuffs, that had been ornamenting the first contingent forwarded.

After all, we must not be very hard on these Argentines, when we remember the accompaniments of voluntary emigration from the east coast of Africa to the French West India Islands in 1856,—a volunteering enterprise that was so characteristically set forth in the affair of the 'Charles and George.'\*

\* Vide Author's 'Ten Years' Wanderings amongst the Ethiopians,' p. 280. Hurst and Blackett, 1861.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

Monte Video — The City of Transition — Loss by Civil War — First Lighting by Gas — Yellow Fever in 1857 — Caused by Introduction of Gas — Novel Chemical Test — Three live Ducks — Re-adoption of Mare's Grease — Ducks out of their Element — Official Documents — Site of early Gas-works — Filth and Rubbish — Tarnished Coin — Englishmen drinking bad Water — The Cabbage Revolution — The real Antidote for Cholera — Dr. Harris's Opinion — Lighthouse at Lobos Island — Transferred to Maldonado — Seal Fishery — Commercial Progress of Monte Video — Custom-house Returns in 1866.

To no city in South America, with which I am acquainted, does the title of "transitional" seem so appropriate during the last twenty years, as that where I now find myself,—namely, Monte Video. Sieges, blockades, and threatened bombardments have been followed in such rapid succession by increased sheep-farming, new saladeros, and the electric telegraph! On one day we have had the republic of Uruguay—whereof it may be needless to say Monte Video is capital—progressing under the Colorados; on the next day, the Blancos are triumphant. Now a gold rush to the mines of Tacuarembó; anon cutting the throat of Leandro Gomez, the heroic defender of Paysandu! and afterwards assassinating their President, General Flores, in the streets.

Of the bad effects, caused to the commerce of the country by these changes, we have an illustration in a statement on the costs of civil war, which I extract from the 'River Plate Times;' and which must have

a very significant bearing to those who have faith in "the eloquence of figures." Let us consider the following:—

"The loss under the one head of domestic cattle which this country suffered from 1843 to 1852, the duration of the siege of Monte Video, is thus summed up in a recent publication worthy of credit:—

"In 1843 when General Oribe had just commenced the siege of Monte Video, the stock of horned cattle in the country amounted to 12,000,000 animals, and in 1852 there were not 2,000,000 left.

"The total loss of domestic animals may be estimated thus:—

10 million cows .. .. .	\$40,000,000
5 " sheep .. .. .	10,000,000
25 " 9 years' increase of cattle .. ..	100,000,000
18 " " " sheep .. ..	30,000,000
10 " horses and mules .. .. .	20,000,000
	<u>\$200,000,000'</u>

To this may be added another proof of the instability of its commercial relations with England, by an extract from the Board of Trade Returns for the first five months, (of exports from England,) in the respective years:—

To the Uruguayan Republic in 1863 .. ..	£225,334
" " 1864 .. ..	390,407
" " 1865 .. ..	229,233

These last figures show, no doubt, the effects of the revolution initiated by General Flores, which had nearly terminated in the bombardment of Monte Video in the year 1865.

On my first visit of a few days to Monte Video in

December, 1861, when passing through to Rosario, I picked up a trifle of jottings about this place,—some of which are recorded in ‘Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings.’ In Chapter I., and at page 7, I have stated:—“A few years back it appears that mare’s grease formed the staple article for lighting the city; but a severe epidemic of yellow fever having broken out in 1857, and attributed—so at least some people say—to this cause, gas was introduced instead.”

Since the appearance of the foregoing, I have been informed by my friend Mr. W. H. Cock, C.E., who is engineer at the gas-works, that the reverse took place. And the following statement is very suggestive of the condition of science in Monte Video in the nineteenth century:—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER OF GOVERNMENT.

“COMMISSION OF PUBLIC HEALTH, MONTE VIDEO,  
“*May 31st, 1857.*

“SENOR MINISTER,—I have the honour to pass, into the hands of your Excellency, the original of Report compiled by the Commission charged to inquire into the use of gas.

“Whilst the Commission of Public Health adopts a defined rule, and coincides in the works pointed out in said report, it at the same time believes in the imperious necessity for the immediate stoppage of gas-light, and the substitution of mare’s grease therefor.

“The Commission salutes your Excellency with the most distinguished consideration.

“J. R.,

“F. F. y A., Secretary.”

Simultaneous with this was published the following edict, under rubric of the Minister:—

“MINISTRY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

“MONTE VIDEO, *May 31 de 1857.*

“At the Policia for the purpose of making proper arrangements about the provisional stoppage of lighting by gas, and its substitution with mare's grease,—it is decreed, that the water should be let out of the gasometer through the pipe, which conducts to the sea, and said water should be previously purified by the Doctor of police, and a chemist named by the Gefe Politico,—returning these instructions with a certified proof of their having been complied with.

“Signed      (R. de S. E.)

“R——a.”

The original gas-works were situated in a densely populated and uncared-for quarter of the town. In this region the inhabitants were generally the lower class of Italians,—living four and five together in one small room,—and not unfrequently with the fraternal companionship of a few pigs. The filth and rubbish from the better portion of the city were deposited in this locality; and I have been assured, that in one street, the deposit of decaying vegetable and animal substances, street sweeping, and general rubbish, was not less than four feet thick. When the epidemic broke out, of course there were common-sense folk, who saw nothing astonishing in such a result; but the people, more immediately effected, who could see no harm in filth and dirt, set up the cry, that the gas was poisonous, and that the gas-works would be the destruction

of all coming within their influence. A commission was appointed to report on these grumblings, and it recommended suspension of the gas illumination.

On the same day that this was decreed, another commission was nominated, which agreed perfectly with the conclusions of the previous one. It had been declared that the water in the gas-tank contained a large quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen gas,—and hence the *fons et origo mali* of the epidemic. The last-appointed commission, composed, amongst others, of Doctors F. and M., and a chemist of local celebrity, I. G. V., determined the matter in a very simple and easy, if not perfectly scientific, manner. The commission arrived at the works with a novel testing apparatus, in the shape of a basket, containing three live ducks. These were placed in the tank, and not unnaturally—supposing a little more of impure air to be here than is generally in the duck's swimming places outside doors—gave signs of uneasiness,—in fact, seemed to be rather “out of their element” than in it. These were immediately diagnosed to be the preliminary symptoms of the epidemic. A silver coin was then placed near the tank, and wetted with some of the water. This becoming tarnished decided the question, that sulphuretted hydrogen also existed in a free state in the surrounding atmosphere. The eminently scientific commission tested no further, but became perfectly convinced that the gas-holder tank was a focus of disease. The fact, that the men working in constant proximity to the tank enjoyed good health was no evidence at all to these savans. An English workman was so amused at the great

precautions taken by them to keep clear of any infection, by passing from nose to nose a small bottle (containing some aromatic anti-infectious mixture), that he filled up a glass with the water from the tank, and toasting their health, drank it off, to their great horror.

Every chemist's boy doubtless knows, that sulphuretted hydrogen gas, when existing free and in large quantities, is highly poisonous; but that the amount, liberated from a small gas-holder tank, should be sufficient, mixing with the surrounding atmosphere, to originate an epidemic disease would be perfectly ridiculous, even allowing for the state of science in Monte Video in the present cycle of material and intellectual progress.

Quite as ridiculous as the foregoing, and not far from being attended with highly serious political results, was the cabbage revolution, that had nearly taken place during the cholera time in April, 1867. My chief object in noticing it is to protest, in the name of common humanity, against municipal or hygienic bodies, or any class of people entrusted with the care of the public health, wasting their time and energies upon a warfare against vegetables, whilst shutting their eyes to the malaria-generating influences of bad sewerage, foul water-closets, overcrowding of rooms, and imperfection of ventilation. Dr. Harris, Registrar-General of Health in New York, has proved beyond the possibility of question, that cleanliness is the real antidote for cholera. And if cleanliness, united to temperate living, with effective ventilation, be not made a rule of policy by the various municipi-

palities,—it is but “a mockery, a delusion, and a snare” to try and suppress cholera by edicts against fruits or vegetables.



Monte Video, from a House-top.

Whilst the time of the scientific world in Monte Video is occupied with these gas and cabbage commotions, it may be no harm to record the fact, that the removal of the lighthouse from Lobos island in the channel of La Plata to the Maldonado Point, has been the cause of several shipwrecks during my residence out here. If we come to inquire into the reasons for this change of *locale* of such an important thing as a lighthouse, and in such a useful position, we find, that in 1859 the Minister of War and Marine at Monte Video ordered the light to be removed to the east



point near Maldonado, "on account of the injury caused by said Lobos light to the valuable seal fishery near the island!"

Yet in spite of these anomalies, Monte Video holds a very high position in a commercial point of view, as the fleet of ships in the harbour will show. The custom returns for 1866 give a total revenue of 3,500,000 hard dollars, or nearly half that of Buenos Ayres, whilst the population of the Banda Oriental is only one-seventh that of the Argentine Republic. The customs revenue of Monte Video for 1866 is 81 per cent. over that of 1862. The shipping returns show, that in the year under consideration 2865 vessels entered the port, of an aggregate tonnage of 533,267 tons.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

Carnival Time — In Quarantine — Barbarities of South American Carnival — The Bomba and Black-eyed Damsels — Improvement of Monte Video in seven Years — Magnificent new Buildings — Signs of Prosperity — Foreign Capital and Intelligence — Division of Monte Video — Education and Public Health — Increase of Municipal Schools — Old Town founded in 1724 — The Spanish El Dorado — First Settlers at Monte Video — The old City-wall — Its Massiveness — Into the New Town — The Liberty Statue — The Liberty of Religious Worship — No Mythical Goddess — Methodist Chapel.

UNFORTUNATELY my arrival in the Oriental Capital at this time was on Sunday, the first day of Carnival; so that during the subsequent eight-and-forty-hours, I was morally obliged to consider myself in quarantine. To any one who has had experience of Carnival in Paris or in Rome, this festivity in South America must appear an essentially barbarous institution. From the house-tops, which are all flat here, paper bags filled with water, sometimes jugs and basinsfuls of the same, are flung on the heads of passers-by, without distinction of age, sex, or rank. Men on horseback, as well as ragamuffins on foot, parade the streets, carrying handkerchiefs full of eggshells containing water, which they pelt remorselessly at each other, and at everybody, whether in the streets or on the azotea roofs. Although this amusement (?) is not supposed to be commenced until a gun is fired at noon, and by a like poetical licence is understood to be terminated when the same gun is refired at sun-down,

a republican liberty is taken for the sport at any available period during the four-and-twenty hours of the three days of Carnival. Very few persons, however, except old bachelors, complain of this licence as it is exercised in the extra-legal hours; for the chief assailants at these periods are black-eyed damsels, who do Carnival by squirting through the Venetian blinds some Eau de Cologne at the passers-by, out of an elastic syringe, called "Bomba."

Every night during Carnival time, there are masked balls in different parts of the city. Indeed you see masked, spangled, and tinselled humanity pervading the streets all day long; whilst those who wear this motley are allowed an immunity from being drenched.\*

The city of Monte Video presents, in this month of February, 1868, a very different appearance from what it did, when I paid my first visit here in December, 1861. Getting on shore by any of the small moles, of which there are four or five, you pass by a large three-storied building, the Custom House; and then crossing the street, entitled Calle 25° Augusto (wherein are still some of the old Spanish houses of the city's foundation time), you find yourself in a moment amongst buildings, which it is difficult to associate with one's ideas of South America. In a few squares from the Custom House, you are at the magnificent Hotel Oriental, or the new American Hotel, with imposing frontage. Not far from these

\* There is little difference in any part of South America, as regards the Carnival, from what it is in Monte Video, except that in some of the upper provinces of the Argentine Republic, throwing flour in people's faces is part of the fun.

are the splendid new Exchange, or Bolsa, opened in 1864, the Foreign Club House, the Electric Telegraph Office, with the Commercial, Italian, and Mana Banks. Every place you observe signs of prosperity, and in all of these establishments you at once recognize the presence of foreign capital, energy, and intelligence.

Monte Video may be considered as divided into two towns—the new and the old—or, speaking topographically, the lower and the upper. It is admirably cared for by a municipal body, under the title of Junta. This is a practical municipality, whose excellent organization is proven in its public works of paving the streets, macadamizing the roads, and in every way beautifying the city. It is under the Presidency of Señor Don Agustin de Castro, and comprises, within its functions, the several departments of Public Works, Primary Education, Public Health, and some others. From the volume of its report for 1866 now before me, a work about the size of one of our ordinary blue books of the Foreign Office, I find one-third taken up with details of the public works. .

Numerically, the public instruction department of this city is much superior to that of Buenos Ayres; and this may be the more wondered at, when we come to consider the relative predominance of the latter named in the fact of population. The two following statements will show that the Junta of Monte Video is doing practical work, *viz.*:—

1st. In March, 1865, it appears that the municipal schools of this city counted only seven establishments of boys and six of girls, with 1820 pupils in the aggregate.

2nd. In December, 1866, there were thirty-eight municipal schools, with 4000 children of both sexes receiving gratuitous education; and in all these the decimal system of arithmetic is rendered obligatory.

The part of the Junta work referring to the Commission of Public Health is under the Presidency of Mr. John McColl, who has for many years proved himself a Titan in Monte Videan progress. Amongst the South Americans in general, any approach to the cleanliness, which is said to be nearly allied to godliness, is not yet believed in. Therefore the Hygiene is a sort of Augean stable business, wherever it is undertaken.

The old or lower town, which is at the extreme end of the promontory whereon Monte Video is built, was founded in 1724 by Brigadier Don Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, who was at the time "Governor and Captain-General of the Trinity and Port of Buenos Ayres, in the province of Rio de la Platá." This, it may be observed, was a period of more than 200 years after the Rio de la Plata had been entered by Don Juan de Solis in 1515.

Through the whole of this intervening time, the early Spaniards had been searching for the El Dorado in San Juan, Cordoba, Paraguay, and elsewhere,—fighting with the Indians and with each other,—leaving no trace of their progress, save that which was marked with blood. Whilst here was a port, the best in its natural capacities of any in this grand river, and the nearest to the mother-country as well as to Europe, to be the outlet of its industrial wealth, yet no notice taken of the fact. It is a sad commentary on the ideas

of the first explorers, which we learn from Don Juan Manuel de la Sota,\* “that this place was selected to be fortified in order to neutralize the influence of the Portuguese, who had already made good their footing in the neighbouring site of Colonia del Sacramento.”

The earliest settlers at Monte Video were from the Canary Islands, together with Andalusians from Spain; and to the present day, the Orientals say, they can recognize by features, as well as difference of dialect, the respective descendants of these races.

The mountain from which the city derives its name is passed on the left-hand side as we enter the harbour; and its peak is about 500 feet above the water's level. On the top are the remains of an old fortress, which has been utilized by converting it into a lighthouse, with a revolving light. Between it and the beach, below are several cattle-killing establishments.

The division between the old and new town, may with propriety be said to be the stone wall line of fortification, a few hundred yards behind the principal Plaza, and which was extended at the period of its first erection by the Spaniards, from the sea outside to the harbour inside, a length of about a mile across the promontory. In the half-way part of the wall, or thereabouts, was a very strong fortress in these old times, and through this is a wide archway, that led into what was then the country, but which is now the new town. Inside as well as outside this wall, which is from 12 to 16 feet in thickness, and on a flagway

\* ‘Historia del Territorio Oriental del Uruguay, escrita por Don Juan Manuel de la Sota,’ p. 120. Monte Video, 1841.

intervening between the two arched gates, we have the chief market, crossing over from which through the Plaza de Independencia, we find ourselves in a street called the Calle 18 Julio, or street of 18th July.\* This, although not quite as wide as Sackville Street, in Dublin, is somewhat similar in its commanding aspect, and measures a breadth of 100 feet across. It is well paved, with sloping elevation to its centre, as indeed are all the streets of the new town.

Passing up and facing towards the suburban district of Union, we come to the Plaza Cagancha, in the centre of which was solemnized last year, with much pomp and by the President, General Flores, the raising of a statue to Liberty.

It is but justice to the Republics on both sides of the Plata, to acknowledge (whatever their other faults may be) that the mythical goddess of Liberty is truly worshipped out here. Statues are erected to her in every town, her name is joined to estancias, cafés, public-houses, shoeshops, and apothecaries' stores; whilst these are not the only evidences which we possess of her actuality on the shores of La Plata. At Buenos Ayres as at Monte Video, although the Roman Catholic is the religion of the state, Protestant and Dissenting places of worship actually exist. At Rosario, in Santa Fé, there is likewise a chapel of the North American Methodists.

\* On the 18th of July, 1830, was the solemnity of swearing-in the state of the Republic of Banda Oriental.

## CHAPTER XLV.

Monte Video to the Country—Beautiful Quinta of Mr. Buschenthal—The River Miguelete—Elegance of Buschenthal's Grounds—Artistic Arrangements—Extent of Quinta and Hospitality of Owner—To Mercedes—Early Starting—Delay caused by Carnival—Merry Andrew of a Clerk—Locomotion in the Banda Oriental—Musical Fellow Passengers—Rolling Aspect of Country—Santa Lucia River—Town of San José Lata del Perdido—Comfortless Sleeping-room—Black Hole of Calcutta—Valley of San Martin—Stream of Aguila—Entrance to Mercedes.

FROM Monte Video in every direction, over well-paved streets and along macadamized roads, the traveller can visit the suburbs or explore the interior, either by cab or Diligence. No one ought to pass through this city without paying a visit to the quinta of Mr. Buschenthal,—the Quinta Buen Retiro, or “Quinta of pleasant retirement.” To this, after obtaining a ticket of admission on Thursdays or Saturdays, by presenting oneself at the office in the city, you can go in a cab. Following the line of electric telegraph that winds round by Colonia to cross over to Buenos Ayres, and proceeding through a few miles of the immediate suburbs to Paso Molino, amongst quintas that are the very pictures of rural repose and tranquillity, in a bright, sharp, and cheery atmosphere, we turn up in front of the river Miguelete,\* and leaving on our left

\* This river, Mr. Hughes tells me, derives its name from a very distinguished Spanish regiment of that ilk, which fought under the Duke of Wellington in the Spanish war. For a time they garrisoned Monte Video.



the pretty little house of Mr. Hughes, find ourselves bowling up the avenue to Mr. Buschenthal's.

To have a proper appreciation of this place by any person who has not seen it, one should imagine a slice of Kew Gardens in London,—another of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris,—with a piece of the Bois de Boulogne, and the whole set up in a frame of the Champs Elysées. But to complete the picture it is necessary to drop into the centre,—the most comfortable of houses, furnished with the choicest articles of “vertu,” and cheered by the presence of its hospitable owner.

The whole extent of the Quinta comprises sixty cuerdas, or about 250 acres; and every square yard of this is turned to useful or pleasing effect. In fact, it needs nothing, but a clear stream of running water, and a small cascade or two, to make it a gem of picturesque beauty.

There is a farm-yard here, in whose sheds I saw a considerable number of Durham short-horns. Between a small bridge crossing the Miguelete and the house is a menagerie, with several South American animals; whilst fruits and flowers are everywhere.

The general aspect of Monte Video city and its surroundings is very pleasing; more particularly so to any one who has lived for a few years in one of these big Argentine towns, where all your perambulations induce you to imagine that you are walking on a Brobdingnagian chess-board. For every square is there dreadfully square in parallelogram and sharp angle. Whilst standing on the height of Mr. Buschenthal's ground, near the upper hot-house, the eye ranges over

hill and valley, pretty quintas, flower-gardens, and groves, that are rendered doubly charming by the absence of flatness in their vicinities.

On the third morning—that is, of the concluding day—of carnival, I took my seat in the *Pescante*\* of one of the Diligences which was bound for Mercedes on the river Negro.

Although the hour for starting mentioned on the bills was 4 A.M., I and some few other passengers were shivering in the cold for more than three-quarters of an hour after that time, before the office door was opened. That this delay was caused by the carnival I had very strong suspicions; for at about a quarter to five o'clock, as the gloom of night was dispelling, I saw a Merry-andrew looking piece of spangled something in scarlet jacket and tight yellow breeches, with a pink mask on its face, glide in through the side-door of the office. This last-mentioned was at a street corner, and had therefore more than one exit and entrance. The clerk who came to give us the tickets was about the height and figure of the harlequin just mentioned, whilst his face appeared “sicklied o’er with the pale cast of”—having spent his night out on the spree. But we must not complain; for what would a glorious Republic be, if a spruce young clerk cannot keep any amount of passengers waiting in any kind of weather, till he shall have finished his fandango?

All travellers are doubtless aware that the different sorts of locomotion, to be met with in foreign countries, are as remarkable in contrast to ours in England, as the varieties of fellow-passengers, with whom one has

\* This is what is known as the Coupé, or front seat of a French Diligence.

to associate. Our coach was a very strong one, drawn by seven horses, six of which were driven by the coachman, as in the accompanying sketch, and the leader ridden by a postilion.



My fellow-passengers on leaving Monte Video were eight in number, and for the first two days of our journey we were supposed to be amused and entertained by one of them producing discordance out of an accordion; another perpetrating sounds on an apparently cracked fiddle, with a palpably unrosined bow; a third not only perpetually whistling, but doing this loudest of all when we stopped to change horses, and might be supposed to expect a little rest. With the in-harmonious trio were two vocal assistants,—the first at the ‘Marseillaise,’ and never changing it to another tune; whilst the second was equally persistent with some howl, in which the name of Garibaldi was constantly repeated. So that, when my neighbour, an Oriental major, said, as we were leaving Santa Lucia, after breakfast on the first morning:—“We are certain to have a happy journey” (*feliz viaje*), “Señor, as we have so much music on board,”—I plead guilty of an insult to truth and honesty in assenting, although I confess having made a mental aspiration to the spirits of Verdi, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn, in the form of

a protest against such a desecration of their sublime art, as is being carried on by the quintette of my fellow-passengers. The journey occupies three days in performance, and the worst part of it is the horrible lack of accommodation, for a comfortable night's rest, to be endured at the post-houses.

Our way lay through beautiful country-residences for several miles outside of the city. There was to me a pleasing novelty in the rolling aspect of the country, through which we were travelling, after my many years' residence in the everlasting flat surface of the Buenos Ayres and Santa Fé camps. Over the pretty limpid stream of Santa Lucia to the village of same name, where we stayed for breakfast, and to the large town of San José, whereat we put up for the night. Rocks, hills, valley, and watercourses alternate as we go along; but at every post-house on the road we felt the influence of carnival, as we were obliged to wait an extra time for change of horses.

Our second night was passed at the Lata del Perdido—at the store, public-house, grocery, or whatever you like to call it, of a German. Here the up and down coaches meet, and put up for the night. The united passengers numbered nearly twenty, and they were sent to sleep, each with a *catré*, or canvas bed, for himself, in a room not more than 10 to 12 yards long, and 4 to 5 yards wide. No distinction is made in these journeys, and consequently, though I offered to pay for a separate room, I could not get one; for the air in this at 9 P.M. was so black-hole-of-Calcuttaish, that I felt obliged to take up my bed and walk outside in the open air, where I slept soundly.

From Lata del Perdido, as we go along, I observe a considerable amount of very coarse thistles and other weeds (such as cepa de caballo, abrojo, and mio-mio), which are very noxious to sheep farming. Passing the pretty valley of San Martin, and over a considerable-sized stream of the same name, whose waters are perfectly clear, the pasture here seems to contain a larger quantity of gramilla (soft grass) than I have yet noticed. Some few flocks of Mestizo sheep were hereabouts, and their wool is much cleaner than any I have seen in Buenos Ayres or Santa Fé. Beyond this, where much of the pasto fuerte (strong grass) has been burned, we find the same desolate and savage appearance which unoccupied country possesses in all parts of the world. The peculiar geographical formation, of which I have already written,—of rock, hill, valley, running stream,—makes the extent of view to be limited in many places; but in none of these is there the slightest appearance of industry.

A league beyond San Martin is another clear little rivulet, of Maciel. At the same distance farther on, with an ascent, a table-land, and a slope intervening, is the Arroyo de Corralito. Then the small stream of Aguila, near where we cross it, as tortuous in its course as the track of a serpent; and half-a-mile beyond we stop to change horses at a post-house on the bleak hill of Aguila, in the midst of large boulders of ironstone. Here there was a wind almost sharp and strong enough to blow the hair off a fellow's head. For leagues and leagues, between the Aguila and the next stream, which is a muddy one (the Arroyo de los Biscochos), our road passes through a forest of thistles,

the flock or down from which, wafted on the strong Pampero wind that is blowing to-day, resembles a snow-storm. Every part through which we journey, and where we see the soil turned up, is presented a loamy, alluvial, and argillaceous earth, that indicates good bottom for wheat. In many places the virgin clay is as soft and dark, as the richest stable manure to be seen in England.

From the Aguila to Carmen Ortiz, the next post, are five leagues ; and from the latter to Mercedes are four.

Entering Mercedes from the Monte Video road, the ascent reminded me very much of the appearance of Malvern slopes, when I visited them in 1855. At the outskirts of the town is a larger number of poplar trees than you would be likely to see in any place at this side of Tours. The other features of its suburbs gives Mercedes, at first sight, the appearance of a city of gardens. It is very prettily situated, being on the side of a declivity slanting down to the Rio Negro. In the Plaza Principal is a Liberty statue, holding the Banda Oriental flag in its hands. A very large new church, behind the old one, is now progressing here to completion ; and opposite to this is the Maua Bank. Several of the houses in this town, and especially the old ones, including the antique church, are built of ironstone. In the neighbourhood, but a few miles up the river, are some saladeros, from which there is no inconsiderable export of hides, charqui, bones, and bone-ash. Eight leagues above the town is the Salto, or cataract of the Rio Negro.

I tasted the water of the river Negro in many

places, to test the medical qualities for which it is reputed; and I believe this reputation to be in some degree groundless. Certain persons hold a faith, that its sanitary components proceed from the quantity of sarsaparilla which it contains in solution on account of having flowed over a considerable extent of territory, where the roots of this plant exist in great abundance; whilst others attribute its curative powers to the ferruginous elements, that it absorbs in the passage through strata, where the chalybeate properties of iron abound. I do not wish to give any rash opinion save from its taste; and this expresses simply, that drunk in a natural state it savours of the nasty; whereas, modified with a little brandy, it was rather refreshing than otherwise. I may add that the health-restoring properties of this river are said to be applicable only in liver and spleen derangements; whilst its waters are considered fatal in pulmonary affections.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

Attraction of Mercedes Neighbourhood — The Maua Estancia — Description of the House and Surroundings — Voyage down the Yaguari — Organ Grinding — Facts interesting to Bass and Babbage — Soriano — “The Fast Rising Town” — Early History of this Place — Chanas Indians — The Jesuits — Lozano’s History of Paraguay — Impiety of Mamelukes — The False and True Streams — Island of Biscayanias — Garibaldi Fort — To Paysandu — Anchor at Almiron — Murder of Leandro Gomez — The Custom of the Country — Miscalled Political Passion — Population of Paysandu — Foundation of this Place.

THE principal attraction of Mercedes neighbourhood is the estancia, with magnificent house, of the Baron de Maua. To reach this from the town it is necessary to make a diversion south and west, in order to cross a narrow pass of the river Dacca, that flows into the Rio Negro. The residence presents more of the appearance of a palatial mansion than of a dwelling-place for an estanciero. The entrance is through an extensive archway in the centre of the building, and this is guarded by a very strong gate. Whilst on each outside of the main door is a walled round flower-plot, ornamented with fountains and dragons’ heads. The house is very spacious and two-storied, having miradors (or look-outs) on top of the flat roof.

The Baron’s property here presents a frontage of from seven to eight leagues on the left side of the river Negro. It comprises thirteen “suertes” of land—a suerte being three-quarters of a league,—all occupied by sheep and cattle. The former amount to



nearly 70,000. Of mares, mules, and horses there are about 1500. Mr. Eneas Barker, the manager, tells me, that he places only from 7000 to 8000 sheep to each suerte, and makes it a matter of camp-discipline to have the useless, worn-out, and unproductive animals weeded away in the proper seasons. Limestone, and excellent clay for making brick abound on this estancia. There are several kinds of trees fit for making firewood and fences, or corrals, but none adapted for building purposes. By the river-passage there is only a mile-and-a-half from Mercedes hither; but by the road, which I travelled, the journey exceeds a league. In the river hereabouts are to be obtained several varieties of excellent fish. Mr. Barker, having been a nautical man, has organized some small boats for the use of the estancia; and in one of these he kindly put me on board the small steamer 'Guazu,' bound from Mercedes down the Negro to meet the large steamer, 'Rio Paraná,' coming up the Uruguay from Buenos Ayres.

The voyage to the Yaguari mouth of the Negro was rendered doubly monotonous by an organ-grinder on board, who played unceasingly, as if his instrument was part of the steam-engine, in the whole route down to Soriano. It may interest Mr. Bass and Professor Babbage to know, that I saw and heard an organ-man in every town of the Argentine and Oriental republics, which I have visited.

The first part of Soriano, visible from the low deck of a small steamer, is the roof and about one-half of the steeple of the church. Although I did not go on shore here, I can tell what this town is *not*,

as well as what *it has* been. And it certainly is *not*, as the Uruguay Manual for Emigrants entitles it, "a fast-rising town." \* Nor is there the slightest appearance of any life hereabouts, let alone trade or business; for after the church, we see only the roofs of a few ranchos, and not the ghost of a boat or craft of any kind in its neighbourhood.

From the history of 'Territorio Oriental del Uruguay,' by Don Juan Manuel de la Sota, it appears, that in the early Spanish times, several families of the Chanas tribe of Indians inhabited the islands in this neighbourhood, where the Rio Negro debouches into the Uruguay. These people were driven farther north by the Charruas, and they were obliged to appeal for help to the Governor of Buenos Ayres,—which was at the time the seat of the Spanish Vice-royalty. The period of which we speak was in 1624,—or a hundred years before the founding of Monte Video. The aid sent hither was effected by Don Francisco de Cespedes, who was Governor in the epoch just mentioned; and his assistance was given by forwarding the Rev. Father Bernardo Guzman, with two other Jesuits, who after converting more than a thousand souls, founded three churches, of which the only one remaining, with its reduction of Chanas, is that of Saint Dominick of Soriano.

Lozano, in his history of Paraguay, Rio de la Plata, and Tucuman, tells us, that in the course of two years, the Jesuits formed, in this neighbourhood,

\* Vide 'The Republic of Uruguay, &c., &c. A Manual for Emigrants, with Maps and Illustrations.' Effingham Wilson: London, 1862. Price One Shilling.

eight reductions, or parishes, which so destroyed the impiety of the Mamelukes, as to oblige them to take shelter in the other parts of Uruguay.

Out of the Rio Negro we turn to the right, against the stream of what is called the Yaguari branch of the river Uruguay. For here, there are two channels to the main river, one (the false) going downwards, through which there is no passage for any kind of craft,—the other (the true) turning upwards, and at the higher end of which we are to wait for the steamer coming up from Buenos Ayres. In this channel, whose lower mouth (*i.e.* the embouchure of the Negro) is a league and a half to two leagues from Soriano, we pass by the island of Biscayanas to the right, and the island of Lobos on the left. Emerging from the upper mouth, the pilot points out to us the ruins of an old fort, on the right-hand side of our steamer, that was erected here, during Garibaldi's time in the Banda Oriental. Where we drop anchor there are about half-a-dozen vessels; and the noble Uruguay is at this point from three to four miles wide.

We were obliged to remain two hours waiting for the up-river steamer, and in such a condition of mosquito aggravation, as is impossible to describe. On board the beautiful and commodious steamer 'Rio Paraná' at 9 p.m., and next morning at about six o'clock, as anchor was dropped between the island of Almiron and the town of Paysandu, I went ashore at the landing-place.

The geographical position of Paysandu may be a puzzle to many readers, who are not conversant with this part of the world. It was of the place where we

now are, that a few years ago in the English House of Commons, Mr. Layard stated, in reply to Mr. Maguire, that the murder of Leandro Gomez and the other officers, who surrendered, was "in accordance with the customs of the country." With all due respect to Her Majesty's *ci-devant* Under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, and although the recent murder of the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico, with some assassinations in the River Plate districts, that are allowed to go unpunished, may permit the shadow of justification for such a statement, it is a little *de trop* to say that such a barbarity as that, committed on the hero of Paysandu, is "in accordance with the custom of the country."

Such crimes as this are generally perpetrated, under the influence of miscalled political passion. For nearly all the South Americans, with whom I have come in contact—be they of the Hidalgo or the Gaucho class—seem to be changed into remorseless, implacable, human tigers, as soon as they are sucked into the vortex of rebellion or revolution. In their camp life, at their estancias, or in their town-houses, they are most hospitable, courteous, and gentlemanly; but let anything in the shape of war be inoculated into them, and they become demons.

Captain Page writes of Paysandu as "a town of 2388 souls, and the only one on the Banda Oriental shores after leaving Higueritas, distant 130 miles." "It is a forlorn, dilapidated place," he says,—“the houses are deserted,—the gardens overgrown with weeds,—and everywhere we see the marks of civil war, from which the state had just been delivered.”

To the south of the town, on the little river "Sacra," and about half-a-league from the principal plaza is a Saladero, belonging to Señor Don Antonio de Castra Antikera. I am informed by Mr. John Kemsley, that in this neighbourhood stood the original town of Paysandu, which was founded in 1772 by a Padre named Sandu, who came with some Indians from the Misiones territory, to establish a community for the purpose of checking the Portuguese tendency to slave-trading, and the invasion of Mamelukes into the Spanish settlements. This was forty-eight years after the foundation of Monte Video city, and four years previous to the appointment by the court of Madrid of a vice-royalty in Buenos Ayres. The reason for constituting a population here is thus explained in the 'History of the Oriental Territory of Uruguay,' before quoted:—"From the progress which agriculture had made up to this date (1772), the superfluity, over and above what was wanted for home consumption, had been exported in the last-mentioned year from Monte Video to the amount of 9000 fanegas of wheat. The horse and cattle farms had, likewise, progressed in an extraordinary manner, on both sides of the Rio Negro. This latter increase gave rise to a noisy dissension between the inhabitants of Misiones, and those of the Banda Oriental, as to the proprietary right of the various hordes of cattle, that were found between the rivers Yo and Negro. The result of arbitration being favourable to the Orientals, the people of Misiones, with the object of preventing their cattle (that were raised to the north of the Rio Negro) from passing to the south, sent, at the end of

this year, the Corregidor,\* Don Gregorio Soto, with twelve families to settle in Paysandu.

Such is the accredited origin of this town, which afterwards progressed so rapidly, that at one time, although the historian does not say when, it had the largest population, next to the capital, of any *locale* in the Uruguayan Republic.

\* Corregidor is the Spanish title for a magistrate, who administers justice in his district in the king's name.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

Desolation of Paysandu from Bombarding — Threatened Bombardment of Monte Video — Indigenous Civil Wars — Ride through Paysandu — Its Pretty Cemetery — A Subterranean Saladero — The Morgan Process for Beef Curing — Details of its Manipulation — English Estancieros at Paysandu — My Visit to that of Mr. R. B. Hughes — Extent of Operations here — Excellent Quality of Cattle — Mr. Drysdale's Sheep Farming — Curious Fact of Veterinary Pathology — The Saladero of La Morvonnais — Its Business — Pretty little River of Arroyo Negro — To Concepcion, Capital of Entre Rios.

PAYSANDU, at the time of my visit there, during the month of March, 1867, showed, in nearly every street, large breaches in the house-walls—visible evidences of the bombardment which it received from the Brazilian fleet under Admiral Tamandare in 1864. This battering—continued for four days—was most apparent on the church and houses in the Plaza Principal.

It was terminated on surrender of the commander, General Leandro Gomez, who was murdered by those to whom he had honourably given up arms, and whose death concluded, as far as the locality was concerned, one of those civil wars, that seem to be indigenous to this part of the world. At the termination of this siege, Monte Video city was threatened to be bombarded by the Brazilian naval squadron—that had caused such a “heavy blow and great discouragement” to Paysandu; but this threat ended in having General Flores (who had come over from Buenos Ayres, the previous year, with two Gaucho companions to try his

fortune), proclaimed President of the Oriental Republic, and to this, succeeded the war with Paraguay.

A ride through the town of Paysandu brings us, across squares and by gardens, with an oppressive listlessness everywhere, to the cemetery, which stands on a high hill to the south-east, and is a very neatly-kept one. To the credit of its original planners, I may state, that it is situated on a very lofty eminence, and is distant half-a-mile from the extreme edge of the town suburbs. It has very pretty obelisks, and tall cypress trees, but loses much of the picturesque in being quadrilateral.

From outside the cemetery wall, there is a very extensive and interesting view. Foremost amongst the objects, away down south in the river's direction, is a Saladero, that was constructed in old times, so as to have all its operations carried on subterraneously, by an eccentric padre, called Solano. He used to ride upon a bullock, that was caparisoned with horse-gear of saddle and bridle.

During my stay at Paysandu (under the hospitable roof of Mr. Good, manager of the Maua Bank), I paid a visit to the Saladero, still the property of Messrs. Daniel and Richard Williams, where the Morgan process for beef curing is carried out. This establishment, together with the more celebrated one of Baron Liebig at Fray Bentos, which we shall visit hereafter, is included amongst a total of eleven Saladeros, now working on the Banda Oriental side of the Uruguay river, between Mercedes and Salto. Here I arrived, whilst the operation of curing process was going on. Several animals were lying about, destined to be cut



into beef in three hours after the brine had been injected ; and each had a small piece of board laid on its side, whereon was chalked the time indicated. The Saladero is situated about a league to the north of the town. Neither of the Messrs. Williams being at the place, I could ascertain no detail of the commercial success of the undertaking, for of its chemical success, in a theoretical point of view, I have no doubt. They have got here a pig, mare, and a lamb preserved in their totality by the Morgan process some two years ago, and appearing at the present day as sound as possible. Indeed I brought with me a slice of round of beef, with a small portion of charqui, prepared three years previous and both in excellent condition. It would be only *crambe repetita* to describe the process which has been so ably done by Dr. Morgan's pamphlet, and since the issue of that, in the report of our late Chargé-d'affaires in Buenos Ayres, Mr. Forde.

In the neighbourhood of Paysandu there are several English estancieros, — Hughes, Drysdale, Gaynor, Green, and Bell, amongst others. I had the pleasure of staying a few days at the estancia of Mr. R. B. Hughes, which is about four leagues south of the town, and is called "La Paz."

This estancia consists of 5 leagues, 1053 cuadras. It has seven suertes and a quarter ; the suerte comprises three-quarters of a league. These are subdivided into twenty-three puestos, at each of which a flock of sheep is taken care of. In the sheep department of the estancia, Mr. Hughes informs me, that he finds the Lincoln cross with Mestizos of the country to be

better, and more productive of wool, mutton, and progeny, than the Rambouillet cross with the same. There are here, likewise, from 6000 to 7000 head of cattle, a large proportion of them being a cross from some Durham short-horns, brought out from England by Mr. Hughes.

On one day of my stay here, I rode over the estancia to see these cattle, which a care-taker was ordered to have assembled on a *Rodeo* for my inspection; and amongst them were animals of an appearance sufficiently plump to grace the stalls of Newgate or Leadenhall market. The estancia is bounded by the Arroyo Negro, the Arroyo Rabon, and Arroyo Canguay, all being streams with permanent water.

Mr. Hughes has 60 acres of his estancia land laid out for a farm, and was about to build an azotea house. The present abode is of cottage shape, but of exceeding comfort, and contains the best of sauces to be found anywhere, namely, a gentlemanly welcome for his visitors. Connected with the establishment are a carpenter's and blacksmith's shop, adjoining the wool galpon.

Amongst the other English estancias in the neighbourhood, the principal is that of Mr. Drysdale, who, although having but 20,000 sheep, keeps what may be called a model establishment, in consequence of the great care that he takes of his flocks.

Whilst not pretending to more than a limited range of veterinary pathology, I must confess myself rather puzzled at the *rationale* of what I learned, whilst at Paysandu, of an item in the Gaucho horse-

doctor's prescription. When an animal—be it bullock or horse—is affected with worms, glanders, or string halt, the Gaucho takes up with his knife the piece of sod on which the last hind-step of the animal had been pressed, and making the sign of the cross on it, as well as the place from which it was taken, puts it back into the original position from which it had been extracted. No one pretends to explain the why or wherefore of this therapeutic; but of its success every one can furnish proof.

In Paysandu district the average price of land is 10,000 Monte Videan dollars the suerte.

From Mr. Hughes's, I went overland, in company with my kind host, to the saladero of the brothers, La Morvonnais (Frenchmen), who had been so courteous as to send their carriage for me the night before. This place is situated on the left bank of the Arroyo Negro, about two miles above its mouth, and is entitled the Santa Isabel. To it is attached an estancia of four suertes in extent, and all fenced in. The Saladero is very extensive and commodious in its fittings. From the Mole, at the river side, to the various departments—to the beef drying, the hide store, the bone heaps, the salt house, and so forth—is a tramway, which gives greater facility of transport to and from the vessels alongside. In 1866, there were 60,000 hides and 80,000 arrobas of charqui exported from here.

A pretty little river is the Arroyo Negro. Its source is at Cuchillo Grande (10 leagues from where we now are at St. Isabel), and thence it runs through groves of Algaroba and Acacia trees, forming now and then cascades and deep pools. It receives many

tributaries in its course—the principal, with reference to volume of water, being the Rabon and Celestina.

From La Morvonnais Saladero, a boat was placed at my service by these gentlemen to cross over the Uruguay to Concepcion, the capital of Entre Rios province. The day was very hot, so I could not start till 4 P.M. Down the Arroyo Negro our little boat was towed by a horse on shore, (in the English canal fashion), until the Arroyo Belasco which enters the Negro about half-a-league from the starting place, obliges us to take to the oars. The journey across the river has nothing in it, save that all the mosquitoes in South America seemed to have a monster meeting around our boat on the whole voyage, till we arrived at the Entre Rian capital at 10 o'clock P.M. After a good bath at the hotel, I turned into bed with the intention of rising at 5 A.M., to proceed on a visit to San José palace, the residence of Captain-General Don Justin José de Urquiza, to whose patron saint's anniversary\* I had been invited by his son-in-law, Dr. Victorica.

\* St. Joseph, the 19th of March.





Palace of General Urquiza.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

From Concepcion to San José — Road to General Urquiza's Palace — Impressions at Sight of it — Its "Distracting Regularity" — Superlatively Parallel and Quadrilateral — Description of the Palace — Its Surroundings — Louis Quinze Style of Furniture — Fresco Paintings of Battles fought by Urquiza — The Patios — The San José artificial Lake — *Vis-à-vis* of Chapel and Pulperia — Square Bee-hives — Festival of Saint Joseph (19th March) — Description of General Urquiza — Expression of Face, and *tout ensemble* — His sober and steady Life — Style of Rejoicings kept up at the Festivity.

THE road from Concepcion del Uruguay to San José, presents a rolling plain, on either side like the greater part of the Entre Riano camps. Everywhere as you go along troupes of ostriches abound, and they appear to know, that a decree of the captain-general's ensures their safety from attack ; for they do not scamper off, at sight of a coach or Diligence, like those that one sees on the Pampas or in the Gran Chaco.

On each side (that is as straight as two parallel lines) and for a length of four to five leagues from the palace, are square enclosures of pailings, at distances of a few hundred yards apart. Within these were planted, a few years ago, some trees, chiefly of the Globulus Eucalyptus,—but the greater part of them have been destroyed by the cattle.

Urquiza's palace at San José is certainly a grand edifice,—for South America. But before I was inside of it for half-an-hour, it made two impressions, not

at all calculated to make me feel as if I were to take naturally to my host's courtesy of "This house is at your disposition, sir."\* The first of these was, that what I stood or sat down upon,—everything I looked at, or passed by, whether buildings, flower-beds, or furniture, seemed as if they only proclaimed their worth in gold ounces on the very faces of them. For there is a veneering look in all, that shows its artificiality, and makes one feel that the whole concern must have cost a mint of money.

Second to this came a feeling somewhat similar to that which Dickens describes of Philadelphia, as of its being "so distractingly regular." Indeed, before I was two days in the palace, I became conscious of a longing to see something, that had a crooked turning or a rounding at the corner; for here all is so superlatively parallel and quadrilateral.

The building of this palace was begun in 1850, and its appurtenances are not yet completed. The front entrance faces the east,—whence coming in by the outside gate, the visitor passes on through a garden of square parterres,—in which are shrubs and flowers from all parts of the world. On each side of this walk, which is like all the others in the garden, laid down with the finest of sand, brought here at enormous expense, we pass a large brass-wire aviary with glass top,—containing canaries, as well as Argentine and Brazilian birds. These aviaries are approachable by marble steps,—that make a circumference of the whole. I am

\* The South American form of courtesy is: "La casa esta a la disposicion da Vd." Another piece of what appears to me superlative politeness, is the custom of writing to a man, and dating your letter from what you style "La casa de Vd," or, "Your own house."



told that each of these bird habitations cost a thousand sovereigns. Continuing onward, I cross a flagged piazza of the grand entrance to the house, which is fronted by eight massive Corinthian columns. At either end of these rises up a lofty tower, four stories in height, with a clock-face in front of top story, and a weather-vane, surmounting all. On passing through the Saguan, or vestibule behind the pillars, we could mount to either tower,—that on the right hand, through the billiard-room,—that on the left by one of the general's private apartments. But if the weather be very hot, or that you arrive there in the glaring sun-time, it is better to slip into the dining-sala, behind the billiard-room. These are in the first patio, or courtyard, together with state bedrooms for distinguished guests, such as a bishop, admiral, governor of a province, or foreign minister. On the opposite side in this patio are the grand drawing-room, the general's private dining-room, and the bedchambers of the family. All the rooms are luxuriantly fitted up in the Louis Quinze style of thick curtains, heavy carpets, and massive furniture. Whilst the ceiling of the principal Sala, or reception-chamber, is set off with square patches of mirror, exactly like the large room in the palace of King Eyo, at Old Calabar, Western Africa, as I saw it in 1857.

At each corner of this patio, and over a doorway is a fresco oil-painting of one or other of the many battles, in which Urquiza was engaged. And in all of those his individuality is clearly marked out, by his own portrait in some prominent position.

Passing hence, through another Saguan, into a

second Patio, and the mathematical idea obtruding itself at every step, we find ourselves amongst the staff of the household, — including aides-de-camps, governess, housemaids, and cook. For the kitchen is opposite the office of private secretary. This square, instead of brick and mortar arcade at the sides, as in the former one, has lines of grape trellises on iron, that in summer-time afford a very agreeable shade. Hence we emerge through another Saguan, and a spacious gateway, into the rear of the premises, where we find a chapel and pulperia at opposite sides of the gate, admitting from the right, and coach-house with stables on the left of where we stand. Straight before us is a long and sloping walk, down which we proceed, through groves of peach, quince, pear, pomegranate, apple, and fig-trees. At the bottom of this walk of about 250 yards in length, we are stopped by a large hiatus intended for water, or in fact the San José artificial lake.

This immense chasm, which is 200 yards on each of its four sides, and more than 20 feet deep, is surrounded by a wall containing almost as many bricks as would have done for the tower of Babel. Up to the present time (March, 1867) it is said to have cost over 20,000,000 francs. Although having little water as yet, it is reputed to contain a considerable number and variety in species of fish. On every side of the lake-square, which is railed in by iron scroll-work, fastened to square pillars, we have a line of grape-vines,—a line of rose,—and another of orange-trees,—all placed in distressingly equal distances from one another. There are here likewise two apiaries, each

with twenty to thirty square hives. In fact one gets so mathematically right-angled in the temperament, looking at everything here, that it is a relief to lie down under a pear-tree, and see that the fruit is not square.

I have been a little over minute, perhaps, in the description of General Urquiza's place; but I was present at the grand festival of his saint's day on the 19th March, and saw his palace in its holiday suit.

General Urquiza, although a man of sixty-five years old, is still hale and hearty, as well as most active in habits, and equally temperate in living. He never smokes, nor drinks any kind of spirituous liquor. The portrait in his general's uniform, one of which is published with Baron du Graty's work on the Argentine Confederation, bears no more resemblance to him than I to Hercules. His nose is slightly aquiline, and his face has a combined expression of vigour, energy, and decision. This is marked most characteristically about his mouth. The eyes, although grey, and therefore deficient in semblance of vivacity, seem as if they had the faculty of reading the thoughts of any one, with whom he is conversing,—although he seldom keeps them for more than a second in any fixed position of regard. His hair is black, with no tinge of the white of old age; but it is becoming thin on the top of his head, and he keeps it arranged in such an artistic style as to conceal the small patch of baldness. He is in appearance the very *beau idéal* of an English gentleman farmer, as he walks about,—dressed in summer-time with a suite of white jean, and a black hat, that is allowed to incline rather jauntily to the back of his head.

The festival, on this anniversary of Saint Joseph, began as all feasts are commenced in the Argentine Republic, at noon of the previous day. It consisted of mass and sermon at the chapel,—of hoisting flags, and firing off rockets at mid-day,—of a dinner each evening in the grand patio, at which about 200 guests were present,—of fireworks in front of the grand entrance at from 8 to 9 P.M., and of a ball subsequently, at which dancing was kept up till 3 o'clock in the morning. This programme was continued for three days.

On the last day it was varied by races; whilst all through, the attention and hospitality to their guests of the Senora and General Urquiza were beyond praise.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

The National College at Concepcion — Urquiza's Liberality towards it, and the Extent of its Teaching — Decadence since the Battle of Pavon — Unwillingness of People to send their Children to School — Professors of the College — Plaza Principal, and Monument — Bad Position of Concepcion and Urquiza's Saladero — Lower down to Guauguaychu, and the Mouth of the Uruguay — Sheep-farming.

FROM San José we return to the capital of this province, Concepcion del Uruguay. The chief noticeable institution here is the National College that was founded by Urquiza in 1850.

Not only was this college first established by Urquiza, but, we are told by Captain Page, it was frequently provided for out of the Captain-General's private purse, when the funds of its own proprietary were not found sufficient for occasional emergencies. For five years during its existence, *i.e.* from 1856 to 1861, here were maintained and educated 421 students, many of whom were from Chili and Peru. All were fed, clothed, taught, and supplied with books gratuitously. With them were about fifty day-scholars, residents of the town.

During the first year after the battle of Pavon (in September, 1861), and the consequent change of venue in the National Government, the number of scholars dwindled down to 100. For the last three years (1864 to 1867) the National Government at Buenos

Ayres allows stipend for only forty pupils, and the provincial of Entre Rios proposes to be accountable for twelve. The Pensionists at the time of my visit (in March, 1867) were six in number; and the remainder of the school, whose total counted seventy-six, were day-scholars.

This college was originally built out of the provincial funds; but in Urquiza's presidency epoch, it was transformed to a National institution. Even with all the advantages which I have previously mentioned of freedom of expense in everything, the people of the province were unwilling to send their children until almost forced to it.

It has always been, as now, only a preparatory college for degrees to be obtained at Cordoba, Buenos Ayres, or other University. Yet though in palpable decadence at the time of my walking through its "halls deserted," Dr. George Clark, the Professor of English and Political Economy, who soon after "shuffled off his mortal coil," showed me a list of Rector, Vice-Rector, and a dozen Professors. Of these I saw nothing but the names, and their existence seems to me apocryphal,—if for no other, for the simple reason, that the functions of the college were at the time discharged by the National College at Buenos Ayres.

The Plaza Principal of Concepcion appears the most spacious of any that I have yet seen in this Republic. Indeed, the greater number of the streets are double the width which they are found elsewhere. In the centre of the Plaza is a square pillar with conical top, erected in 1822 to General Don Francisco

Ramirez. It was restored in 1858 by General Urquiza, and has inscribed in raised letters, on one side of its pediment, the fact of its being dedicated as a "Gratitud a las virtudes, y al patriotismo." The church here is a beautiful Doric structure,—in fact quite a relief to the eye after the quadrilaterals and parallelograms of San José. The raising of this place of worship in 1859 is likewise due to Urquiza. In fact, the spirit of the Captain-General breathes through and from everything in this part of Entre Rios province.

The Executive Government-house of the province is made out of part of the cuadra or square, which was formerly wholly occupied by the college.

This port of Concepcion is very badly chosen, in reference to its topographical relation with the main channel of the river, as a place of access for steamers or sailing vessels. It is blocked out from the main stream by several islands. Passing from Concepcion to the principal channel, we steam by a grand saladero belonging to General Urquiza. This is entitled Santo Candido, and at first sight bears some resemblance, though on a smaller scale, to the palace at San José; for it has at each side a square tower, with a weather-nave at the top.

Farther down the Uruguay and on the same side, we have the town of Gualeguaychu, in the neighbourhood of which a large number of Englishmen have settled as sheep-farmers within the last few years.

Before leaving the Uruguay river, the mouth whereof is not far from Gualeguaychu, I have a few words to say on the subject of sheep-farming, which

has been for many years, and still continues the staple commerce of this part of South America.\*

In the Banda Oriental, sheep-farming has been for a considerable time carried on by English companies, organized under the Limited Liabilities Act. One of these is the Bichadero estancia, the head-quarters of the Uruguay Pastoral Association, of which Mr. Harris is manager. Another is the South American Farming Company, located near Cerro Chutu, in a straight line due east from Paysandu, and where they have thirty leagues of land. There is a third, belonging to some Manchester capitalists, at a place called Martin Chico, on the river Plate coast of the Oriental Republic. The last-named is on an Estancia, which formerly belonged to General Moreno.

In October, 1867, a flock of Alpacas, Vicunas, and Llamas arrived at Monte Video, after a four years' journey from Bolivia, through the Argentine provinces of Jujuy, Salta, Catamarca, Cordoba, and Santa Fé. They were brought under the care of Don Miguel Alvina, a native of Peru, and were consigned to the Acclimatization Society of Monte Video. I believe that up to the present time, the success attending this importation is rather problematical.

\* The best work yet published on Sheep Farming is 'The States of the River Plate,' by Wilfred Latham (issued by Longmans, of London), although every one out here does not entirely believe in the author's 75 per cent. profits.



## CHAPTER L.

Over the River to Fray Bentos — Derivation of its Name — Villa Independencia — The Liebig Saladero — History of this Institution — The Liebig Extractum Carnis — Mr. George Giebert's Application of Machinery to Liebig's Discovery — Process of the Manufacture — The Digerator, or Digester — Amount derived from each Animal — Item in Prospectus of Liebig Company — Refuse of Animals to be made into Guano — Profit of this — Prange's Estancia lower down — Trial here of Bailey and Medlock's Disulphite of Lime — Success of this Experiment.

FRAY BENTOS is said to derive its name from "an old friar Bentos, who used to pass the greater part of his time in wandering through the neighbouring woods."

When I got out of bed on the morning after my arrival here, and strolled up to the highest street in the town to search for any sylvan indications, I confess that I was rather disappointed at observing no more signs or symptoms of an approach to anything like "woods and forests" than the brambly plants of about 3 feet high, that grow on the hill overtopping the Liebig saladero.

The town of Fray Bentos was by a decree of the "Banda-Oriental Government," named "Villa Independencia," and is still entitled so in official documents. With such a big name, one feels sadly disappointed at a first walk through it. And especially if you have been looking over the plan drawn out by Mr. Hammit, you cannot help feeling somewhat sold, to find that it

is a location with far more streets and squares, than there are houses in it.

The first important settlement of Fray Bentos was in 1857, when a company, composed of Messrs. Hughes Brothers, of Monte Video, Messrs. James Lowrie, George Hodskin and Erskine Brothers, purchased an estate of six suertes between the rivers Negro and Uruguay. In 1859, a Saladero was erected here, and worked by Hughes Brothers. This was sold in 1862 to an Antwerp company, that began the "Liebig Extractum Carnis" manufacture. In 1866, the estate adjoining the Saladero was bought over by the English company, into whose hands the Antwerp people had disposed of their rights of the Saladero. Thus we have here now the "Liebig's Extract of Meat Company (Limited)," under the supervision of Mr. George Christian Giebert. It is but justice to this latter gentleman to say that he, in no small degree, may be said to bear the same relation to Baron Liebig, that Stephenson did to Watt. Steam was discovered by Watt; but it was applied to practical engine-driving by Stephenson. In like manner, *cæteris paribus*, Liebig discovered the chemical digestion of meat, so as to extract its best essence. But it was after many years' patient study of the application of machinery to the subject, that Mr. Giebert (who is a Civil engineer) has brought the matter to a practical and profitable working.

On the occasion of my first visit to the establishment, I was conducted through the premises by Mr. Lanigan, the working engineer,—Mr. Giebert not having arrived at seven o'clock in the morning. The

original impression produced on me was its dissimilarity to any Saladero I had ever visited,—in the absence of bad smells. The general atmosphere,—about the engine-house particularly—being suggestive of rich beef-gravy.

There are four processes in the manufacture,—the first where the beef is chopped into mince-meat by a revolving cutter. In the second it is put into a large pot, called the Digerator, or digester, with equal parts in weight of water. This is subject to the action of steam for two hours or so. From this the nutritive liquid of the meat falls through a wire-gauze bottom into a vat. The chief aim of that is to strain off the fat. From thence it is passed into a second evaporating-machine, where it is left for eighteen hours, subject to the influence of steam below, and a current of air above.

Before being put through the next process, the liquid is strained in a flannel, to separate any fibre that may be remaining therein. The last evaporation is kept up for from six to eight hours, by which time the extract presents a brown treacly appearance, and is fit to be potted. This final action is carried on in a box or tub, wherein four to six thin wheels are revolving perpendicularly so as to expose, by stirring up, every part in turn to the current of air, which is passed through a wooden tube from above, and thereby accelerates the evaporation.

Every animal of four years old is expected to yield 10 lbs. of the extract; and 1 lb. of this is said to comprise the nutritive particles of 45 lbs. of beef *en masse*.

At the time of my visit (in March, 1867) they could provide only 250 lbs. per day; and Mr. Giebert told me that the Antwerp market could then take more than four times that amount. I believe that machinery which can produce 3000 lbs. in weight per day has since been put up. A full description of the process carried on here may be seen in the 'Pharmaceutical Journal' for October and November, 1866.

A very important item in the prospectus of the Liebig company deserves a notice:—"It may also be mentioned that on the Saladeros (slaughtering-establishments) of Fray Bentos and the neighbourhood about 20,000 tons of animal-matter accumulate annually, and are lost, but which, according to Baron Liebig's theory of manures, would form better manure even than guano. If this material can be brought into an available and portable form, it would afford a further source of profit. Baron Liebig and Mr. Giebert hope to be able to solve this question shortly."

At the period of my being here, I have seen the blood, refuse of fat, and such Saladero contingencies thrown into the river; and I have no doubt that if these can be utilized so as to make them compete in the European market, as to price and value, with Peruvian or artificial guano, it will constitute a very important item in the profits of the company.

Mr. Prange's Estancia and Saladero are situated on the edge of the Uruguay river to the south of the Maua Estancia, between the San Salvador and the Arroyo Arenal. It is a piece of land of 10 suertes, comprising 18,910,000 square varas, equal to  $72\frac{1}{2}$  English miles, or 48,400 statute acres, being well

watered, and extensively wooded. The Saladero is north, on the Espinillo tributary to the San Salvador, and the former is navigable to the wharf. It is located very advantageously, being only about nine leagues distant from the river-port of Higuieritas. To this last-named place, is projected to extend the railway now in progress from Monte Video to the inner part of the Banda Oriental Republic. A glance at the map will show that Higuieritas lies on the left side coming downwards of the Uruguay river, just where the latter joins in with the several affluents of the Paraná, to constitute the La Plata Basin.

At Prange's Estancia the bisulphite of lime of Messrs. Bailey and Medlock is about to be tried, and of which I have already written.\*

\* Vide chap. xxvi., p. 222.

## CHAPTER LI.

Revolution of February, 1868, in the Banda Oriental del Uruguay — Division of Colorados — Opening of the Ball by Fortunato Flores — Dispute with his Father, and striking him — Palliation of this Act by a Monte Videan Newspaper — “Error of Judgment, arising from Excess of filial Love” — Second *pas* in fifteen Days after — Assassination of President Flores in the Street — Reprisal Execution of Ex-President Berro — Difficulty of arriving at the Truth — War against the Blancos — State of Monte Video in Revolution Time — Terror and Distrust — Political Juggernaut — Paradoxes in the Rio de la Plata — Electric Telegraph in Monte Video.

I CONFESS myself not so much *au fait* in the political barometer of Banda Oriental, as to be able to tell at what period took place separation of the Colorado party, as it figured in the revolution of February, 1868. But it was then divided into two sections, the Conservadores, whose chief was General Suarez; and the Floristas, or followers of General Flores, at the time President of the Republic. The previous occupant of the Presidential chair was Señor Berro, head of the Blanco party, who had been deposed by the united Brazilians and Orientals after the revolution initiated by Flores in 1863, which terminated in the bombardment of Paysandu in the month of August, 1864.

The opening scene in the tragic pantomime of February, 1868, at Monte Video was begun by Fortunato Flores, son of the President, going to his father's house on the morning of 3rd February, and after a warm

dispute, striking his parent in the face. Fortunato then ran off to the barracks, and called out the regiment of which he was Colonel, marching them through the streets, to the tune of Viva something or another. He was, however, soon stopped in his career, by the overpowering number from the garrison, turned out by Colonel Battle, at the time Minister of War under his father's Government.

Of the causes of this dispute nothing is known, save, perhaps, amongst those who believe in the palliation advanced by a newspaper (published in Monte Video), for Fortunato having struck his father, namely—"an error of judgment, proceeding from an excess of filial love." This explanation need scarcely be wondered at in reference to a part of the world, where according to Mr. Hinchliff, there is a tombstone\* over a man, which is inscribed to the effect that he was buried at such and such a date,—“after being assassinated by his friends.”

In fifteen days after, or on Wednesday, the 18th February, and at about one o'clock in the day, a report of fire-arms was heard in the streets of Monte Video. It was told to Governor Flores, that the Blancos had risen, and taken the fort. As soon as His Excellency was informed of this, he ordered a carriage, into which he entered with his Ministers, Flangini, and Marques, and his secretary Errecart. Proceeding towards the Government offices, for the purpose of giving his aid and advice to the officials, he had not gone three squares from his own house towards the Cabildo, when, in the Calle del Rincon, and on the eastern side of the

\* In the Recoleta of Buenos Ayres, at the other side of the river.

Plaza Principál, a group of eight men in masks, who had followed the coach from a short distance, ordered the driver to stop. The latter, paying no attention to this command, was shot dead with a revolver, and then to prevent the animals from running away, one of those was disposed of in a like manner. The assassins rushed to the door of the vehicle, and stabbed the General with large knives. Flores scrambled out, and drew a revolver; but before he could use it, he was felled with balls from similar fire-arms, and spitted with daggers to death on the spot. His body remained on the pavement for a considerable time, and was then brought home. Next morning it was carried by an immense concourse of people, to the Matriz, the large church in the principal Plaza, where several ineffectual attempts were made to embalm it; the first of these being done by an Italian bird-stuffer. After lying here in state for some few days, it was taken away to be buried privately, although the grand funeral function did not take place for some weeks afterwards.

In a few minutes subsequent to the death of Flores, ex-President Berro, who was accused of being organizer of the revolution, was seen in the street, armed with spear and revolver, and was at once taken off to the Cabildo prison by Segundo Flores, (one of the murdered General's sons), and Hector Varela. At the time of his capture, Berro had in his pocket a letter in General Flores's own handwriting, in which the latter declared himself to be Berro's protector. All those who had been the actual assassins managed to escape; but in less than three hours after the first tragedy, Berro,



together with Barbot, and others who had attacked the fort, were executed within the Cabildo walls.

The most distressing thing connected with official or newspaper reports, or public or private talk, in South America, is the difficulty of arriving at the truth in regard to the contingencies or corollaries of any event. We know that a "disturbance" has broken out, and is styled a revolution; but of the particulars connected with any one's death few can learn more, than that he has been sent to his last account. Referring to this affair, which is before us, I was told in Monte Video, which I visited in three days after the assassination of Flores—that the fort was not attacked at all—that the revolution was organized and carried out, as far as it went, by the Conservadores part of the Colorados—and that Berro, instead of being tried and shot, had his carotid artery severed by a knife, the moment that the Cabildo gate was shut upon him. It may be said, and perhaps with truth, that this is a Blanco account. But if it be the truth, it cannot be affected by any party,—be they Blancos or Colorados.

A fearful reprisal was now raged against the Blancos, and there is no doubt that many of those—some say to the amount of several hundreds—were slaughtered in the Cabildo.

I may here remark that a very bad feature of South American revolutions is, that periods of civil war seem especially taken advantage of for the manifestation of private hatreds, and the execution of private vengeance.

Very difficult it would be for an European—and particularly for a stranger to the country—to imagine

the state of Monte Video, or other revolutionary *locale* in such a time as this. As I walked through the streets, nearly every native I met seemed to look at every other, or at any passer-by, with so suspicious a glance, as if he feared to be assassinated, or wished to assassinate somebody. The banks were closed; the shutters were kept up all day at the greater number of the shops; a man, only known to be a soldier by having a red band round his hat, and carrying a gun with fixed bayonet, was parading up and down in front of the house occupied by the President of the Legislature; whilst terror and distrust reigned everywhere. Numbers of people in the streets wore red ribbons tied round their hats; the majority of these, I was told, being persons with a suspicion of Blancoism, obliged to succumb to the political juggernaut of the hour. The Custom House was occupied by a guard of English, French, Italian, Spanish, and North American marines, from the different men-of-war of these respective nationalities; and adding to the lugubrious aspect of the city was the fact of all the flags of whatever nation on shore hoisted half-mast high. This last-mentioned demonstration continued till the 1st March, when Colonel Battle, the before-mentioned Minister of War, was elected to the position of President of the Uruguayan or Banda Oriental Republic.

As soon as the revolution was terminated and the new President chosen, it was said that the Conservadores were the actual framers and concoctors of the rebellion—that they made use of Berro and the other Blancos as so many cat's-paws. "Is it not paradoxical,"

they ask, "to suppose that Berro had aught to do with the assassination of Flores, when a free pass from Flores was found in his pocket?" No doubt; but every day's life in the La Plata territories is full of similar paradoxes.

For more than two years the River Plate Telegraph Company has been sowing the seeds of the grandest revolution in the future of these countries. At present its operations are confined to intercourse between Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, with their surroundings. But the telegraph line on the Western Railroad at Buenos Ayres is gradually creeping up to Rosario. From this last-named place the electric spark is being moved by Mr. Wheelwright towards Cordova; and there is no friend of the great countries bordering these mighty rivers, who wishes more heartily than I do for the speedy coming of the time, when such paradoxes as I have felt it my duty to describe will disappear,—and when the telegraph, the steam-plough, with the reaping-machine shall be the chief subjects discussed over the whole of this great continent of South America.



## APPENDIX A.

## ARGENTINE MEASURES COMPARED WITH ENGLISH AND FRENCH.

## LONG MEASURE.

English feet	17,044	= 1 Argentine league.
"	5,280	= 1 English mile.
"	3,280	= 1 French kilomètre.
"	3·28	= 1 " mètre.
"	2·841	= 1 Argentine vara.
One Argentine league	= 6000 Argentine varas.	
"	"	= 3228 English miles.
"	"	= 5196 French mètres.
"	"	= 5682 English yards.
One Argentine vara	= ·866	millimètre.
"	"	= 9·475 English yards.
"	"	= 2·841 English feet.
One French mètre	= 1·093	English yard.
"	"	= 1·155 Argentine vara.
"	"	= 3·281 English feet.
One kilomètre	= ·621	English mile.
One English yard	= ·914	French mètre.
"	"	= 1·056 Argentine vara.

## SQUARE MEASURE.

One Santa Fé cuadra	= 4·173	English acres.
"	"	= 20,179 square English yards.
"	"	= 16,874 " French mètres.
One square English yard	= 1·115	square Argentine vara.
"	French mètre	= 1·1956 " English yard.
One square league	= 6677	English acres.
"	acre	= 4840 square yards.

## CUBIC MEASURE.

One French mètre	= 61,027 cubic inches.
„ English yard	= 46,656 „
„ Argentine vara	= 39,617 „
One Santa Fé fanega	= 14,346 cubic inches.
„ Buenos Ayres fanega	= .545 Santa Fé fanega.
„ Santa Fé fanega	= 1.83 Buenos Ayres fanega.
„ Santa Fé almud*	= 1195 cubic inches.
„ English bushel	= 2218 „
„ Santa Fé fanega	= 6.467 English bushels.
„ imperial gallon	= 277.27 cubic inches.
„ Chili almuda	= 462.74 „
„ „ fanega	= 2.57 English bushels.

The English square mile equals approximatively one-tenth of square league of Buenos Ayres—that is, ten *chacras*.

The *yard of land* (30 acres) is very near one *lote de chacra* of 16 squares of 100 varas on each side.

The *hide of land* equals also exactly one-and-one-half *lote de gran chacra*, that is, 24 squares of 150 varas on the sides.

The Argentine quintal (100 lbs.) lies exactly in the middle of the two kinds of English quintals; it is one-tenth above the troy, and one-tenth below the avoirdupois.

One pound troy contains exactly 13 Argentine ounces. Ten English grains equal 13 Argentine grains.

\* An almud of beans weighs 32 lbs.; one of rice weighs 33½ lbs.; and one of Indian corn, 30½ lbs.

## APPENDIX B.

## RIVER NAVIGATION.

THE traveller, or immigrant, arriving at Buenos Ayres or Monte Video, may most probably be desirous of knowing the means of river transport that we have here. There are several lines of steamers; but the one embracing the most comfort to passengers, regularity of sailing, and civility of officials, is that of Matti and Piera. In his explanation of their organization, published in the 'Buenos Ayres Standard' of June 15th, 1867, Mr. Matti records a regulation that might be adopted with some convenience to the public in European countries. It is as follows:—"Tickets taken for any steamer will serve for any other belonging to the company; and passengers may stop at any intermediate port, to continue their voyage in whichever of the company's steamers they find most convenient."

I therefore recommend it, and would have given an enumeration of its destinations with the respective fares, but that these are being daily changed. On arriving at Monte Video all particulars can be learned of the agency.

## APPENDIX C.

## ARGENTINE SEASONS.

THE seasons in the Argentine Republic are reckoned as **SPRING**, which is counted from 22nd September to 22nd December, or 89 days, 17 hours, and 4 minutes; **SUMMER**, from 22nd December to 22nd March, or 89 days, 1 hour, and 31 minutes; **AUTUMN**, from 22nd March to 21st June, or 93 days, 13 hours, and 13 minutes; **WINTER**, from 21st June to 22nd September, or 92 days and so many minutes. Thus

the winter here commences on the longest day we have in England.

Although the foregoing may be meteorologically correct, the seasons, as regard heat and cold, are not so methodically defined. We frequently have a difference of from twenty to thirty degrees of the thermometer in twenty-four hours. Yet these changes are not prejudicial to health. People coming to reside out here should bring clothes with them fitted for a tropical as for a northern climate. Frequently at Christmas-time the heat here is very intense, and in the month of July I have had ice brought from a pail in my back-yard, which was nearly three-quarters of an inch thick.

From Silver & Co.'s, of Cornhill, the emigrant of any class can obtain all the contingencies to keep him comfortable in South America.

*m*









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